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13 September 1983

CHINA REPORT

RED FLAG

No. 13, 1 July 1983

Translation of the semimonthly theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China published in Beijing.

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SUGGESTIONS ON THE DRAFTING OF THE 'RESOLUTION ON CERTAIN QUESTIONS IN THE HISTORY OF OUR PARTY SINCE THE FOUNDING OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA'* (MARCH 1980-JUNE 1981)

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 13, 1 Jul 83 pp 2-15

[Article by Deng Xiaoping]

[Text]

I

I have gone over the outline prepared by the drafting group, and my impression is that it is overextended. We should avoid the narrative method and make the whole document more succinct. There should be conclusions of important questions, and a bit more language of the kind. We must, of course, take care that what we say is accurate.

The main idea, I think, should consist of the following three points:

First, to affirm the historical role of Comrade Mao Zedong and adhere to and develop Mao Zedong Thought. This is the most essential point. We must hold high the banner of Mao Zedong Thought not only today but in the future as well. The decision adopted by the Fifth Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee on the rehabilitation of Comrade Liu Shaoqi has caused much confusion among some people after it was relayed. Some people do not agree with the decision, thinking that it goes against Mao Zedong Thought. Others think that the rehabilitation of Comrade Liu Shaoqi shows that Mao Zedong Thought is wrong. Both views are incorrect, and all the confused ideas must be clarified. The appraisal of Comrade Mao Zedong and of Mao Zedong Thought is a matter of great concern both inside and outside the party, both at home and abroad. Not only all our party comrades but also our friends in various quarters are concerned about what we have to say on this question.

*The drafting of the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China" was led by the Political Bureau of the party Central Committee and the Secretariat of the party Central Committee and presided over by Comrades Deng Xiaoping and Hu Yaobang. The drafting group was mainly led by Comrade Hu Qiaomu. Comrade Deng Xiaoping made suggestions on the drafting of the resolution and revision of its draft on many occasions between March 1980 and the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee of June 1981. Here are excerpts from nine of his talks.

We should write into the document we are drafting the history of Mao Zedong Thought and how it came into being. One can say that Mao Zedong Thought took shape rather comprehensively during the Yanan period. Its theories on the new-democratic revolution, including the theories on party building and the principles on the handling of inner-party relations, all took shape rather comprehensively around the time of the Rectification Campaign in Yanan. The resolution adopted by the Seventh Plenary Session of the Sixth CPC Central Committee on certain questions in the history of our party mainly criticized the three "left" lines¹ in contrast to the correct line represented by Comrade Mao Zedong. But it did not systematically expound the entire content of Mao Zedong Thought. Now that we are going to give a correct evaluation of Mao Zedong Thought and scientifically establish its guiding role, it is necessary to expound its main components in fairly general terms, especially those which we should continue to implement in the future. Comrade Mao Zedong committed mistakes during the decade of the "Cultural Revolution." However, in our appraisal of Comrade Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought, it is necessary to analyze such mistakes in a truth-seeking manner.

Second, a truth-seeking analysis should be made of the rights and wrongs of the major events over the past 30 years or so since the founding of the People's Republic of China, and a fair evaluation be made of the merits and demerits of some leading comrades.

Third, this resolution shall be a basic summary of our work in the past. As I said before, it is better to write this summary in broad outline and not in great detail. The purpose of summing up our past work is to guide people to close ranks and look to the future. We strive to ensure that, with the adoption of the resolution, the party members and nonparty people will have their ideas clarified, reach consensus of views and, by and large, call an end to discussions on the major historical questions. Of course, it will be difficult to completely avoid discussions of past events in the future. However, such discussions may be conducted in connection with discussions of the work of the day. We should now work with one mind for China's modernization and we should all unite as one and look forward. It is not so easy to do all this. We must try our best to work out a good resolution so that we can achieve a consensus and forestall differences on major issues. Then in the future, even if the past events are mentioned, people will have no differing views. They will limit their talks to what they have learned from the resolution and from our past experiences and lessons.

These three points constitute the general objective of the general principle and general guideline of this resolution. The first point is the most important, the most fundamental and the most crucial.

In the past, we often talked about the 10 struggles between two opposing lines. How should we look at them now?

The struggle against Comrade Peng Dehuai² cannot be viewed as a struggle between two lines. Nor can the struggle against Comrade Liu Shaoqi.³ Thus,

the number is cut by two. Lin Biao and Jiang Qing formed counterrevolutionary cliques. Chen Duxiu⁴, and Comrades Qu Qiubai⁵ and Li Lisan⁶ did not engage in conspiracies. Luo Zhanglong⁷ tried to split the party by setting up another central committee. Zhang Guotao⁸ engaged in conspiracies, and so did Gao Gang. This was true of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing.

It was correct to expose Gao Gang and Rao Shushi. As to whether this struggle can be regarded as a struggle between two lines, that can be discussed. I know the whole story inside out. After Comrade Mao Zedong proposed at the end of 1953 that the work of the party Central Committee be divided into a front line and a second line, Gao Gang became very active. He first gained the support of Lin Biao, which emboldened him to go ahead with his plan. At that time, he was in charge of northeast China, Lin Biao was in charge of central-south China and Rao Shushi, east China. With regard to southwest China, he tried to win me over and had formal negotiations with me in which he said that Comrade Liu Shaoqi was immature. He wanted to draw me over to his effort to topple Comrade Liu Shaoqi. I made my attitude clear by saying that Comrade Liu Shaoqi's position in the party was an outcome of historical development, that he was a good comrade on the whole, and that it was inappropriate to try to change his historical position. Gao Gang also approached Comrade Chen Yun and told him that a few more posts of vice chairmanship should be instituted and that both he and Chen should be the new vice chairmen. At this point, Comrade Chen Yun and I realized that it was something serious and we immediately brought the matter to the attention of Comrade Mao Zedong. It was most abnormal for Gao Gang to engage in behind-the-scenes deals and conspiracies in an attempt to bring down Comrade Liu Shaoqi. Therefore, the struggle against Gao Gang should be reaffirmed. The Gao-Rao case was handled rather leniently. Hardly anyone was hurt. In fact, care was taken to protect a number of cadres. All in all, we could not but expose Gao Gang and Rao Shushi and deal with their case as we did. The way their case was handled is correct from today's point of view as well. However, as to what line Gao Gang pushed after all, really I do not see there was any. So it is hard to say whether we should call the struggle against him a struggle between two lines. You may discuss it further.

The antirightist struggle in 1957⁹ should be reaffirmed. After the completion of the socialist transformation¹⁰, there was indeed a force--a trend of thought--in the country that was bourgeois in nature and opposed to socialism. It was imperative to counter this trend. I said on many occasions that at that time there were indeed some people who were out for blood and tried to negate the leadership of the Communist Party and change the socialist orientation of our country. If we had failed to thwart their attempt, I said, we would not have been able to advance. Our mistake was broadening the scope of the struggle. The United Front Work Department wrote a report to the Central Committee, suggesting that all those who were wrongly labeled rightists be redressed while rehabilitation is out of the question for those who were correctly labeled. However, in the cases of those former prominent figures of the democratic parties who were correctly labeled rightists, it should be added to their verdicts that they performed good deeds before the antirightist struggle, and especially

during the period of the democratic revolution. Their family members should not be discriminated against, but should be properly looked after politically as well as in their daily life and work.

The several points on our experiences toward the end of your outline are well written, but I suggest adding one or two more.

To sum up, historical questions should be expounded only in rough and general outline, instead of in great detail. You should be able to withstand the pressure of some comrades' wrong opinions about a number of questions. There should be expositions of the major issues. I suggest that the draft be worked out as soon as possible.

(Talk with some leading comrades of the party Central Committee on 19 March 1980)

II

Generally speaking, Comrade Mao Zedong's leadership was correct before 1957, but he made more and more mistakes after the antirightist struggle of that year. "On the Ten Major Relationships" is a good speech. So is "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People." In "The Situation in the Summer of 1957," Comrade Mao Zedong said that we must build a modern industrial and modern agricultural base in China and only when this is achieved can our socialist economic and political system be regarded as having obtained a fairly adequate material base; that, to build socialism the working class must have its own army of technical cadres and of professors, teachers, scientists, journalists, writers, artists and Marxist theorists, and that this must be a vast army, as a small number of people will not suffice; that we should create a political situation in which we have both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness. The two Zhengzhou meetings¹¹ were held at the right time. In the first half of 1959, we were busy correcting "left" mistakes. The early stage of the Lushan meeting¹² was devoted to economic work. With the relay of Comrade Peng Dehuai's letter, however, things began to change. Comrade Peng Dehuai's views were correct, and it was normal for him, as a member of the Political Bureau, to write to the chairman. Although Comrade Peng Dehuai had shortcomings, the way his case was handled was totally wrong. After that, came the period of economic difficulties. In 1961, the Secretariat of the party Central Committee presided over the drafting of the Seventy Articles on Industrial Work¹³ and of a resolution on industrial questions. Comrade Mao Zedong was quite satisfied with these articles and spoke highly of them. He said that we had finally managed to work out some guiding rules for industrial work. Earlier, we had worked out the Twelve Articles on Agricultural Work¹⁴ and the Sixty Articles on the Work of People's Communes.¹⁵ It seems that at the time, Comrade Mao Zedong was conscientious in correcting the "left" mistakes. His address at the conference of early 1962, which was attended by 7,000 people¹⁶, was also good. At the Beidaihe meeting¹⁷ of July-August that year, however, he made another reversal, once again stressing class struggle, and with even greater emphasis at

that. Of course, Comrade Mao Zedong said in his speech at the 10th Plenary Session of the 8th CPC Central Committee that reemphasis of class struggle should not interfere with the economic readjustment that was in progress. That speech had a positive effect. But after that session, he undertook to grasp class struggle himself by initiating the movement of the "four clean-ups."¹⁸ Then, he issued two written instructions on literary and art work,¹⁹ and Jiang Qing's stuff began to surface. Toward the end of 1964 and the beginning of 1965, when the discussion on the "four clean-ups" movement was under way, he said that there were capitalist roaders in power, and that there were two independent kingdoms in Beijing. Judging from the situation between 1961 and 1966, we can see that economic readjustment attained good results, that the economic and political situation was favorable, and that public order was good. In a word, in the 17 years following the founding of our People's Republic, our work was basically correct despite our setbacks and mistakes. We did well in the socialist revolution. After we focused our attention on socialist construction, Comrade Mao Zedong also wrote good articles and put forth good ideas. So when we talk about mistakes, we should not put the blame all on Comrade Mao Zedong, for many other leading comrades in the Central Committee also made mistakes. Comrade Mao Zedong was overly enthusiastic at the time of the "Great Leap Forward,"²⁰ but the rest of us were overly enthusiastic as well. Comrades Liu Shaoqi and Zhou Enlai and I, too, did not object to it, and Comrade Chen Yun kept silent on the matter. We must be fair on these questions and must not give the impression that only one person made mistakes while everybody else was correct, because such an appraisal does not tally with facts. When the Central Committee makes a mistake, it is the collective rather than a particular individual that should bear the responsibility. In this respect, we should analyze things by combining Marxism-Leninism with our practice so that we can make new contributions and developments.

The several points in the outline concerning our experience are good. The question is where to place them.

As far as the layout is concerned, perhaps we should have a foreword containing a brief history of the new-democratic revolution prior to the founding of the People's Republic, followed by a section covering the 17 years of new China, a section about the "Cultural Revolution," a section about Mao Zedong Thought and, finally, concluding remarks. These concluding remarks should make it clear that our party is, after all, a great party that is bold enough to face up to, and correct, its mistakes. The most essential and most fundamental point of the resolution remains the upholding and development of Mao Zedong Thought. People inside and outside the party and at home and abroad all expect us to expound and elucidate this issue and make some generalization on it.

(Talk with some leading comrades of the party Central Committee on 1 April 1980)

III

I have gone over the draft of the resolution. It is no good and needs rewriting. We stressed at the very beginning that the historical role of Comrade Mao Zedong must be affirmed and Mao Zedong Thought adhered to and developed. This draft fails to reflect this idea adequately. The passages dealing with events before 1957 are all right as far as the facts are concerned, but the way they are presented, the order, and especially the tone of presentation should be reconsidered and altered. It is necessary to give a clear account of Comrade Mao Zedong's contributions to socialist revolution and socialist construction. Mao Zedong Thought is still in the process of development. We should restore, persist in and even further develop Mao Zedong Thought. Comrade Mao Zedong laid a foundation for us in all these respects, and the resolution should fully reflect these ideas of his. Some of his important articles and speeches of this period, such as "On the Ten Major Relationships," "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" and "The Situation in the Summer of 1957" should be referred to. The ideas contained in these articles and speeches are what we must continue to adhere to and develop at this time. We must clarify for the people what we mean by saying we must hold high the banner of Mao Zedong Thought and adhere to Mao Zedong Thought.

The tone of the draft as a whole is too depressing--not like a resolution. It seems necessary to revise it, which means a heavy job. The emphasis should be on what Mao Zedong Thought is and what were the correct ideas of Comrade Mao Zedong. Criticism of mistakes is necessary but it must be appropriate. The mentioning of Comrade Mao Zedong's mistakes alone will not solve all the problems. What is most important is the question of systems. Comrade Mao Zedong made many correct statements, but the faulty systems of the past pushed him to the opposite direction. Comrade Mao Zedong's mistakes in both theory and practice in his later years should be mentioned, but they should be dealt with properly and only in general outline. The main thing is for the resolution to concentrate on the correct aspects of Comrade Mao Zedong's career, for this conforms to historical reality. I suggest that you consider whether in the concluding section there should be a passage about our determination to continue to develop Mao Zedong Thought. Also in this passage, the view of "two whatevers"²¹ must be criticized. Comrade Mao Zedong's mistakes lie in the fact that he went against the correct ideas of his own. Those who ascribed to the "two-whatever" view wished to uphold, without any change whatsoever, the erroneous views of Comrade Mao Zedong in his later years. So-called "act according to the principles laid down"²² meant acting according to the erroneous principles Comrade Mao Zedong laid down in the evening of his life. The influence of the vestiges of feudalism should also be mentioned in the resolution, but again in a proper way. Comrade Mao Zedong said on numerous occasions that he was against singing the praises of anyone, and he proposed that no places and enterprises should be named after leaders, that no birthday parties be held for them and that no gifts be presented to them. What the present Central Committee persists in is precisely Mao Zedong Thought, for which we naturally have specific content in mind.

(Talk with some leading comrades of the party Central Committee on 27 June 1980)

IV

The discussions in which 4,000 party comrades are participating are still going on. I have read some summaries. The comrades are airing their views freely and putting forward different views, some of which are very good. I think the draft of the resolution for discussion is still too long and needs to be condensed. Delete what is dispensable so as to bring the essentials into sharp focus. Many groups demand that there be a section in the draft devoted to the period following the smashing of the "gang of four." It seems that we will have to.

It is, indeed, a very important question whether the resolution includes an appraisal of the merits and demerits of Comrade Mao Zedong, and Mao Zedong Thought. And if so, just how should they be appraised? I have talked to some comrades from the Central Security Bureau. They told me that they had read the transcript of my interview with the Italian journalist Oriana Fallaci to the soldiers and held some discussions on it. The officers and men found what I had said appropriate and acceptable. If we do not mention Mao Zedong Thought and make an appropriate evaluation of Comrade Mao Zedong's merits and demerits, the old workers will not feel satisfied, nor will the poor and lower-middle peasants of the period of land reform, nor will a good number of cadres who have close ties with them. On no account can we discard the banner of Mao Zedong Thought. Otherwise, we would be negating the glorious history of our party. Our party's history as a whole is a glorious one. Although our party committed some big mistakes in the past, including the three decades after the founding of new China, even with such big mistakes as the "Cultural Revolution," our party has succeeded, after all, in making revolution. It is since the founding of the People's Republic that China's status in the world has greatly enhanced. Only with the founding of the People's Republic of China has our great country with nearly a quarter of the world's population stood up and consolidated its position in the community of nations. As Comrade Mao Zedong put it, "the Chinese people have now stood up." Our people at home and Chinese nationals residing abroad all felt very strongly about this change. It is also after the founding of the People's Republic that national reunification (except Taiwan) has been truly realized. Under the rule of the Kuomintang, let alone in those years of the old China when the warlords were fighting among themselves, there was no national reunification in the true sense. Places like Shanxi, Guangdong, Guangxi and Sichuan could not be considered as having been really unified with the rest of the country. Our country would remain what it was in the old days were it not for the Communist Party of China, the new-democratic revolution and socialist revolution and the establishment of the socialist system. We owe what we have achieved to the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Zedong. It is precisely on this question that many of our young people lack an adequate understanding.

The appraisal of Comrade Mao Zedong and the exposition of Mao Zedong Thought relate not only to Comrade Mao Zedong himself but also the entire history of our party and our country. We must have this overall point of view, and this is what we have repeatedly emphasized ever since we started

drafting this resolution. It must contain a section that expounds Mao Zedong Thought, because what is involved here is not merely a theoretical question but, in particular, a political question of great domestic and international significance. It would be better not to draft this resolution at all if it did not include such a section or if this section was not well written. As to how to write this section, we must certainly study in real earnest the suggestions put forward by the comrades.

It is right not to say that Mao Zedong Thought developed Marxism-Leninism in a comprehensive way or that it represents a new stage of Marxism. But we must recognize that Mao Zedong Thought is the application and development of Marxism-Leninism in China. Our party has indeed applied Marxism-Leninism in a creative way in solving specific problems in China. This is the objective reality and a historical fact. Anyway, in the draft, the merits and demerits of Comrade Mao Zedong, the content of Mao Zedong Thought and its guiding role in our work both at present and in the future must be expounded. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, we have been restoring the correct policies advocated by Comrade Mao Zedong, and we have been studying and applying Mao Zedong Thought in an accurate and comprehensive way. The basic points remain those we have discussed. In many respects, what we are doing is what Comrade Mao Zedong suggested we should do but have failed to do, to set right what he mistakenly opposed and to do a good job in what he failed to do properly. We will continue to do so for a long time to come. Of course, we have developed and will continue to develop Mao Zedong Thought.

Mao Zedong Thought was defined as the guiding thought for our whole party at the seventh party congress.²³ Our party educated a whole generation with Mao Zedong Thought, and this enabled us to win victory in the revolutionary war and found the People's Republic of China. The "Cultural Revolution" was indeed a big error. Even so, our party has been able to smash the two counterrevolutionary cliques of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and put an end to the "Cultural Revolution." It has continued to advance to this day. All this may be attributed to the generation educated with Mao Zedong Thought. We have been talking about setting things right. By that we mean that we should undo the damage wrought by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," criticize the mistakes Comrade Mao Zedong made in his later years and bring things back on to the correct track of Mao Zedong Thought. In short, if we fail to include a section in the resolution concerning Mao Zedong Thought which, since it has been proved correct in practice, should serve as our guiding thought for our future work, then the importance and historical significance of the revolution and construction we have carried out and will continue to carry out will be reduced. We will make a grave historic mistake if we do not include Mao Zedong Thought in the resolution or if we cease to adhere to it.

Today some comrades attribute many problems to the personal qualities of Comrade Mao Zedong. The crux of many problems, as a matter of fact, does not lie in personal qualities. Even for people of fine qualities, mistakes are unavoidable under some circumstances. During the period of the Red Army, a campaign to rout out the A-B group was mounted in the central

revolutionary base area. Can it be said that all those who participated in the campaign were people of bad qualities? At first, Comrade Mao Zedong also took part, but he came to see what was wrong with it earlier than others and drew important lessons from it. Later in Yanan, he put forth the principle of "killing none and not arresting most."²⁴ It was necessary to heighten our vigilance against bad elements within our ranks during the exceptionally tense wartime. However, if we did not act soberly, failed to make clear analysis and easily believed in confessions of the accused, it would have been difficult for us to avoid making mistakes. Objectively, the situation was indeed tense at that time. But subjectively speaking, there was also a question of lack of experience.

As a matter of fact, Comrade Mao Zedong did not mean to overthrow all the veteran cadres in the "Cultural Revolution." For instance, from the very beginning Lin Biao was bent on persecuting Comrade He Long²⁵ but Comrade Mao Zedong really wanted to protect him. Despite the fact that Comrade Mao Zedong didn't let anyone who failed to obey his orders off lightly, he had consideration as to how far disciplinary measures should go. We shouldn't put all the blame on him for the persecution which later increased in magnitude, although to a certain extent, it was his responsibility. Some cases of perpetration were faits accomplis engineered solely by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" while others were made behind his back. Anyway, the overthrow of a large number of cadres is the biggest tragedy of Comrade Mao Zedong's later years.

In his later years, Comrade Mao Zedong was indeed not as consistent a thinker as he had been previously; some of his remarks were plainly contradictory. For instance, in appraising the "Cultural Revolution," he said that the revolution was 30 percent erroneous while 70 percent positive. He said that it was 30 percent erroneous, because it was "overthrowing everything and waging full-scale civil war." Can anyone find any rational harmony between this statement and his remark stating it was 70 percent positive?

We should make a clear-cut criticism of our mistakes, including those made by Comrade Mao Zedong. In doing so, we must be practical and realistic. We should analyze the different situations and must not attribute all our problems to the personal qualities of some individuals. Comrade Mao Zedong was not an individual in isolation: until his death he was the leader of our party. We must not exaggerate his mistakes. If we do, we will be slandering Comrade Mao Zedong as well as our party and state. Exaggeration does not tally with historical facts.

(Talk with some leading comrades of the party Central Committee on 25 October 1980)

V

It is my opinion that we can settle for this outline of the draft resolution.

We all agree that we achieved great successes during the first 7 years after the founding of the People's Republic of China. The socialist transformation in our country was a remarkable success, and it represents a major contribution to Marxism-Leninism by Comrade Mao Zedong. Even today, it is still necessary to explicate the theory of those achievements. Needless to say, there were also shortcomings. Sometimes we were a bit hasty in our work in some areas.

Our work in the 10 years before the "Cultural Revolution" should be affirmed as it was, in general, good. During these 10 years we progressed rather steadily. Despite the fact that we suffered setbacks and even made mistakes during that period, our achievements were the dominant feature of our work. At that time, the hearts of the party and the masses were linked, so the party had high prestige among the masses. The mood of society was good, and the vast numbers of cadres and the broad masses of the people were in high spirits. Therefore, although there were difficulties, we were able to get through them rather smoothly. There were problems in our economy, but on the whole it made much progress. While fully affirming our achievements, we must also discuss in the resolution such mistakes as our struggle against rightists, the "Great Leap Forward" and the Lushan meeting. Generally speaking, these mistakes were due to our inexperience, and of course, our failure to remain prudent after winning the victory also played a part. It goes without saying that Comrade Mao Zedong was chiefly responsible for those mistakes, for which he once made self-criticism and took the responsibility. When all these points are clearly set forth, the draft can then move on to write about the evolution of "left" ideology and how it led eventually to the outbreak of the "Cultural Revolution."

The section dealing with the "Cultural Revolution" should be written in broad outline. I am in favor of Comrade Hu Qiaomu's views. In comparison with the mistakes in the 17 years preceding it, the "Cultural Revolution" was a grave error affecting the overall situation. Its consequences were so serious that their influence still lingers today. The "Cultural Revolution" was said to have made one generation of our people feel lost. In fact, it has made more than one generation feel lost. During the "Cultural Revolution" anarchism and extreme individualism ran wild which seriously poisoned the ethical standards of society. However, there also existed healthy aspects in that decade. The so-called "February adverse current,"²⁶ was not an adverse current at all, but a correct movement which repeatedly waged struggle against Lin Biao and the "gang of four."

Comrade Hu Yaobang has suggested that after the draft is completed, go and hear what veteran cadres and statesmen including Comrades Huang Kecheng and Li Wei-han have to say. This is a good suggestion and I am in favor of it.

(Talk with leading comrades of the drafting group of the resolution on the party's history on 18 March 1981)

VI

I went to see Comrade Chen Yun the day before yesterday. He made two more suggestions for the revision of the draft resolution. One is that a review of the party's history before the liberation and of the party's 60 years since its founding should be added to the draft. With this review, the summing-up of Comrade Mao Zedong's merits and contributions will be more comprehensive, and the establishment of Comrade Mao Zedong's historical role and the upholding and development of Mao Zedong Thought will rest on a comprehensive basis. This is a very good suggestion. Please convey it to the drafting group. The other is that the Central Committee should encourage people to study, particularly Marxist philosophy with emphasis on Comrade Mao Zedong's philosophical works. Comrade Chen Yun said that he benefited a lot from studying these works. Comrade Mao Zedong told him on three occasions that he must study philosophy. When he was in Yanan, he earnestly read over all the works by Comrade Mao Zedong, and that had a great influence on his later work. Many of our cadres don't understand philosophy yet and very much need to improve their way of thinking and working. Works such as "On Practice," "On Contradiction," "On Protracted War," "Problems of War and Strategy," "On Coalition Government" and others should be selected and published as a collection. We also need to select some works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. In a word, it is essential to study Marxist philosophy. It is also necessary to study some history. Young people don't know our history, especially that of the Chinese revolution and the Chinese Communist Party. Please report these suggestions to Comrade Hu Yaobang. The sections in the resolution on the party's history which deal with Comrade Mao Zedong's contributions to Marxist philosophy should be of richer and more substantial content. The idea of encouraging people to study should be included in the concluding section.

(Talk with leading comrades of the drafting group of the resolution on the party's history on 26 March 1981)

VII

Several rounds of discussions on the draft resolution have already been held. During the discussions many good suggestions were made which should be accepted. However, there were also suggestions that cannot be accepted. For instance, some suggested that the 12th Plenary Session of the 8th CPC Central Committee and the 9th party congress²⁷ be declared illegal. If their legality is negated, it would be untenable for us to say that during the "Cultural Revolution" the party was still functioning and the State Council and the People's Liberation Army were still able to do much of their essential work. Comrade Zhou Enlai explained the problems at the 12th Plenary Session of the 8th CPC Central Committee by pointing out that 10 members of the party Central Committee had died, and the vacancies had been filled by 10 alternate members. Central Committee members present at the session thus totaled 50, that is to say, more than half of the members were present. He was in fact speaking about the legality issue. It is therefore not good to declare either the 12th Plenary Session of the 8th CPC Central Committee or the 9th party congress illegal, taking into

consideration the decision (a wise decision) made by Comrade Mao Zedong in Yanan on the legality issue of the provisional central leadership that was formed in Shanghai in 1931 and the Fifth Plenary Session of the Sixth CPC Central Committee which it subsequently convened.²⁸ Some comrades argued that the party ceased to exist during the "Cultural Revolution." It cannot be said so. Though the party's regular activities stopped for a while, the party still existed. Otherwise how could we have smashed the "gang of four" without firing a shot or shedding a drop of blood? So, during the "Cultural Revolution," the party was still with us. If the legality of the 12th Plenary Session of the 8th CPC Central Committee and the 9th party congress is denied, this is tantamount to saying that the party ceased to exist for a period of time. This is not true.

During the "Cultural Revolution," we achieved much success in our relations with other countries. Though our country was rife with internal turmoil at the time, its standing as a big power was recognized worldwide and its international standing elevated. Kissinger²⁹ came to visit China in July 1971, and in October of that year, more than two-thirds of the member nations in the United Nations voted for the restoration of the lawful seat of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, an event that made the United States feel very much embarrassed. In February 1972, Nixon³⁰ visited China, and the Shanghai communique was issued. In September, China and Japan restored diplomatic relations. In April 1974, I attended the Sixth UN Special Session, made a speech on behalf of our government, and was accorded a warm welcome. After the speech, representatives from many countries came up to shake hands with me. These are all facts.

(Talk with leading comrades of the drafting group of the resolution on the party's history on 7 April 1981)

VIII

We have spent almost a year in drafting this document. Who knows how many times the draft has been revised? Four thousand people discussed the draft in October 1980 and made many good and important suggestions. On the basis of those discussions and the recently held discussion by some 40 people, the draft was repeatedly revised. More than 20 comrades worked really hard on it, and they have now settled for this draft.

Some comrades said in the past that we shouldn't rush the drafting of this resolution. I think we should hurry up with it because people are waiting for it. At home, people both inside and outside the party are awaiting it. If we don't finish it now, unanimity of opinion on some major issues will be out of the question. The world is also awaiting this resolution. People are assessing the situation in China with some doubts about our stability and unity. Their doubts include whether or not we will be able to complete this resolution at all and whether we will be able to complete it soon. So it cannot be further delayed, for any further delay would not be good for us. Of course, what we want is a good draft. This draft, as far as I can see, can serve at least as a good foundation. Written from

the perspective of the three basic requirements set down at the very beginning, this draft now conforms to those requirements.

In order to speed up work on the resolution, we cannot and need not hold another round of discussion by the group of 4,000 people. They have already aired their opinions, and this draft has been revised in accordance with their opinions to the extent possible. We now plan to hold an enlarged Political Bureau meeting of about 70 people, which will expend some time and energy scrutinizing and revising the draft so as to make it a still better draft and to finalize it. After it is put in final form, we will submit it to the sixth plenary session. We envisage releasing it on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the party. I see no need to write anything else to mark the 60th anniversary. It is, of course, still necessary to organize some commemorative activities, but the release of this document should be the main event.

If this resolution still has a shortcoming, it is that it is a bit too long. We have tried to make it no longer than 20,000 characters, and then we set the limit at 25,000 characters. Now it has 28,000 characters. It seems that it doesn't matter to have 3,000 or 5,000 more characters. It's not necessary to cut it down inflexibly. Of course, if you can cut it down in some places in the course of discussion, so much the better.

This document was revised first on the basis of the discussion by 4,000 people and then on the basis of the recent discussion by some 40 comrades. Many good suggestions have been accepted. For instance, Comrade Chen Yun suggested that the resolution begin with a review of the history of the 28 years before the founding of the People's Republic. That was a very important suggestion, and so now we have that review. There have been many other important revisions. You will immediately recognize those made as a result of the opinions you expressed. Of course, there are also suggestions which have not been accepted.

In a word, there are two issues at the heart of the matter. First, are Comrade Mao Zedong's contributions or his mistakes more significant? Second, during the past 32 years, especially the 10 years before the "Cultural Revolution," are our achievements or our mistakes more significant? Was the situation in those years primarily dark or bright? There is also a third question of whether Comrade Mao Zedong alone should be blamed for all the mistakes of the past or whether others should also share some responsibility. This draft says more than once that the party Central Committee should be held responsible, and that other comrades should also take some responsibility. I think this conforms with the actual situation of that period. Fourth, although Comrade Mao Zedong made mistakes, they are the mistakes of a great revolutionary and Marxist.

(Speech at the enlarged Political Bureau meeting of the party Central Committee on 19 May 1981)

IX

On the whole, this resolution is a good one, and this draft is a good draft. We said from the beginning that this resolution should hold high the great banner of Mao Zedong Thought and make a balanced, factual appraisal of the "Cultural Revolution" and Comrade Mao Zedong's merits and errors, so that it can play the same role as the 1945 resolution did, that is, summing up experience, unifying our thinking and uniting us as one in looking to the future. I think this draft can meet such requirements.

The work of drafting this resolution has been going on for more than a year now, during which time the resolution was first discussed by 4,000 people and then by several dozen people and the enlarged Political Bureau meeting. The current discussion at this preparatory meeting of the sixth plenary session is the fourth round. I think we are being rather careful and serious about it.

How to assess Comrade Mao Zedong is the central issue. In this regard, the issue was handled properly in the draft. For instance, we properly approached the issue of whether to categorize Comrade Mao Zedong's errors as relating to the party line. We decided not to refer to them in that way, taking into consideration the fact that such expressions as "the struggle between the two lines" and "errors relating to the party line" were used incorrectly, indiscriminately and too often in the past. With hindsight I think many cases in the party's history of two-line struggles, as we used to call them, clearly cannot be established. Two of them ought to be completely reversed. They are the case of Liu Shaoqi, Peng Zhen, Luo Ruiqing, Lu Dingyi and Yang Shangkun³¹ and the case of Peng Dehuai, Huang Kecheng, Zhang Wentian and Zhou Xiaozhou.³² The basic verdict in the case of Gao Gang and Rao Shushi remains unchanged, but this case can hardly be categorized as a struggle between the two lines. Luo Zhanglong was said to have committed errors relating to the party line, but frankly, I think this way of categorizing it fails to hit the nail on the head. What Luo Zhanglong actually did was to engage in factional strife, split the party and form another party central committee. The case of Gao Gang and Rao Shushi is of a similar nature though, of course, they didn't go so far as to form another party central committee. Qu Qiubai's errors lasted less than half a year and Li Lisan's, only 3 months. The former appraisal of the struggles between the two lines in the party's history was not accurate. That's why we don't want to use this term. The other reason is that in the past, as soon as people within the party aired differing views, they were looked upon as advocates of a different line and criticized as such. Therefore we must approach this issue very seriously, as it concerns the improvement of the style of work of our party. Don't refer to the 11th party congress³³ as one that made errors relating to the party line. Don't describe the "Cultural Revolution" as one that made errors relating to the party line either. In analyzing it, we can cut right through to the core and take the mistakes for what they really are. As a matter of fact, the present analysis of the erroneous nature of the "Cultural Revolution" goes beyond the old concept of the so-called errors relating to the party line. Of course, discontinuing the use of the term "two-line struggle"

does not mean that the word "line" should no longer be used. For instance, we may continue using it in saying that the third plenary session has formulated a correct ideological, political and organizational line. Not only the word "line," but also the term "general line" can still be used. We've actually been using it in saying that the drive for the four modernizations is the general line of the new period. We used the word "line" in the resolution too, so it has not fallen into disuse. In certain contexts, the word "line" reads quite smoothly and naturally, and the meaning is clear. However, as to inner-party struggles, we should objectively describe their nature and mistakes and explain their content. In principle, we should no longer call them struggles between the two lines. In this respect, the resolution can be regarded as a precedent, which we may follow in the future. This is the first point I want to make.

Second, why must we put emphasis on the appropriateness of the assessment? Because some recent talk about certain of Comrade Mao Zedong's mistakes has been too excessive. These excesses should be corrected as correcting them conforms to the actual situation and is beneficial to the image of the country and the party as a whole. Responsibility for some past mistakes should be borne collectively, though chief responsibility, of course, lies with Comrade Mao Zedong. We hold that the system is a decisive factor, and that the system was so in those days. At that time, we credited everything to one person. There were also issues to which we made no objections and for which we should be held partly responsible. Of course, what really happened then was that we found it difficult to express objections. However, we cannot evade the word "we." It harms no one if we take some responsibility. On the contrary, we'll benefit from doing so because we can draw some lessons from that experience. I am talking about the central leadership. The leaders in the localities have no responsibility. Comrade Chen Yun and I were members of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau at the time, so at least we two should be held responsible. Other leading comrades of the Central Committee should also bear some responsibility. Does this conform to the actual situation of those days? Yes, it does. This is a tenable approach and will bring us great benefit. This is also what we mean when we first said the assessment of Comrade Mao Zedong must be based on facts and furthermore that it must be within bounds of propriety.

Now the third point. During the discussion of problems in the first 2 years after the downfall of the "gang of four," some comrades asked if Comrade Hua Guofeng's name should be mentioned. After careful consideration, we decided that it just won't do to omit mention of his name. In this regard, the resolution should dovetail the circular issued after the Political Bureau meeting held last November.³⁴ Wording relating to him in the draft resolution is much milder, sounds softer and carries less weight than that in the circular. I think this is better. Why? Because this is a resolution on certain questions in the history of our party since the founding of the People's Republic of China, while that was a circular about a Political Bureau meeting. This resolution is a document that will go down in history. Of course, the documents of the Political Bureau will also go down in history, but this resolution is a more serious

matter. I think, therefore, it does us no harm to write the resolution in more appropriate terms. However, Comrade Hua Guofeng's name must be mentioned here, for this approach conforms to reality. If he is not mentioned by name, there would be no grounds for changing his position. That's the first reason. Is the resolution of the Political Bureau correct? Should Comrade Hua Guofeng's position be changed? These are questions we must answer. Furthermore, it is necessary to do so in light of current political developments. You all know whose banner the remnant "gang of four" forces and those who have ulterior motives are holding. In the past, they used to hold the banner of the "gang of four." What about now? They are now holding Hua Guofeng's banner, that is, they claim to support Hua Guofeng. This development is worth noting. Of course, we should say--and I have said it to many comrades that this has nothing to do with Comrade Hua Guofeng. He himself is not involved in any activities in this respect. However, this social tendency warrants our attention. So it is beneficial to the party and people to have Comrade Hua Guofeng's name mentioned and his mistakes pointed out in this resolution. This is also extremely good for Comrade Hua Guofeng himself.

With regard to such other questions as whether to list the influence of petty bourgeois ideology as one of the causes of the "Cultural Revolution," I think it does no harm to omit any reference to it. If it becomes necessary to oppose petty bourgeois ideology, we can deal with it in some other documents in the future. There is no hurry. We don't have to mention it here. What should be criticized here is misinterpretation, dogmatism and erroneous applications of what Lenin said about small production engendering capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale. When stating the causes of the "Cultural Revolution," we'll make no reference to petty bourgeois ideology this time, neither will we copy the past formula which said that every mistake must have three causes: social, ideological and historical. It is good that we are following a new formula this time.

(Talk at a preparatory meeting for the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee on 22 June 1981)

FOOTNOTES

1. The three "left" lines. These refer to the mistakes of "left" putschism represented by Qu Qiubai during the period from November 1927 to April 1928, the mistakes of "left" adventurism represented by Li Lisan in June-September 1930 and the mistakes of "left" adventurism represented by Wang Ming during the period between January 1931 and January 1935, prior to the Zunyi meeting.
2. This refers to the struggle launched in 1959 against the so-called right opportunist line of Peng Dehuai. See 17 of the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China."

3. This refers to the struggle launched during the "Cultural Revolution" against the so-called counterrevolutionary revisionist line of Liu Shaoqi. See 20 of the resolution mentioned in note 2.
4. Chen Duxiu (1879-1942), a native of Huaining, Anhui Province. Beginning in September 1915, he was chief editor of the journal QINGNIAN (YOUTH) which was later renamed XIN QINGNIAN (NEW YOUTH). He founded MEIZHOU PINGLUN (WEEKLY REVIEW) together with Li Dazhao in 1918, advocated new culture and was one of the main leaders of the new cultural movement in the period of the May 4th Movement. After the May 4th Movement, he accepted and spread Marxism and became one of the main founders of the Chinese Communist Party. He was the main leader of the party for its first 6 years. He committed serious right capitulationist mistakes during the later period of the First Revolutionary Civil War (1924-27). Thereafter, he became pessimistic about and lost faith in the future of the revolution, accepted Trotskyist views and set up an inner-party faction to engage in antiparty activities. He was expelled from the party in November 1929, and openly organized Trotskyist activities. He was arrested by the Kuomintang in October 1932 and was released in August 1937. He died of illness in Jiangjin, Sichuan Province, in 1942.
5. Qu Qiubai (1899-1935), a native of Changzhou, Jiangsu Province. He joined the Communist Party of China in 1922 and was one of the leaders of the party in its early years. In 1927, at the crucial junction after the failure of the great revolution, he presided over the "August 7" meeting after which he took charge of the day-to-day work of the party Central Committee as a Standing Committee member of the Political Bureau of the Provisional Party Central Committee. He committed mistakes of "left" putschism during the period from November 1927 to April 1928. In September 1930 he presided over the Third Plenary Session of the Sixth CPC Central Committee at which Li Lisan's "left" adventurist mistakes were corrected. At the Fourth Plenary Session of the Sixth CPC Central Committee held in 1931, he was attacked and expelled from the leading organs of the party Central Committee by Wang Ming's "left" dogmatists and factionalists. He was arrested by the Kuomintang in February 1935 on his way from Jiangxi to Fujian and died a martyr's death in Changding, Fujian, on 18 June. During the "Cultural Revolution" he was falsely charged as a "traitor." The party Central Committee redressed this charge in October 1980.
6. Li Lisan (1899-1967), a native of Liling, Hunan Province. He joined the Communist Party of China in 1921 and was one of the main leaders of the Chinese workers' movement. In June-September 1930, when he was leading the work of the party Central Committee, he committed "left" adventurist mistakes. Later he admitted his mistakes and corrected them, so he was elected member of the party Central Committee at the seventh and eighth party congresses.
7. Luo Zhanglong (1896-), a native of Liuyang, Hunan Province. He joined the Communist Party of China in 1921 and was elected a member and alternate member of the party Central Committee. After the Fourth

Plenary Session of the Sixth CPC Central Committee in January 1931, he organized an "extraordinary central committee" in an attempt to split the party and was expelled from the party.

8. Zhang Guotao (1897-1979), a native of Pingxiang, Jiangxi Province. One of the participants of the First National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party in 1921, he was elected a member of the party Central Committee, a member of the Political Bureau of the party Central Committee and a member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the party Central Committee. In 1931 he was secretary of the Hubei-Henan-Anhui Subbureau of the party Central Committee and concurrently vice chairman of the Provisional Central Government of the Soviet Republic of China. In June 1935, when the Red Army's First and Fourth Front Armies joined forces in Maogong, Sichuan Province, he became general political commissar of the Red Army. He opposed the party Central Committee's decision that the Red Army should advance northward, engaged in activities to split the party and the Red Army, and set up another central committee. In June 1936 he was forced to abolish the second central committee and joined the Second and Fourth Front Armies of the Red Army on the way north, arriving in north Shaanxi in December of that year. Beginning in September 1937, he was vice chairman and acting chairman of the Government of the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region. Taking advantage of the occasion to offer sacrifices to the tomb of the Yellow Emperor in April 1938, he fled the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region. Arriving in Wuhan via Xian, he joined the Kuomintang special agency clique and became a traitor to the Chinese revolution. For this he was expelled from the party. He died in Canada in 1979.
9. The antirightist struggle of 1957 refers to the campaign against bourgeois rightists in that year. In April 1957, the party Central Committee decided to launch a rectification movement aimed at opposing bureaucratism, factionalism and subjectivism throughout the party. Taking advantage of this, a tiny number of bourgeois rightists attacked the party and the newborn socialist system in a vain attempt to supersede the leadership of the Communist Party. In June that year, the party Central Committee issued a directive to repel the attacks by the rightists. Such an action against a tiny number of bourgeois rightists was entirely necessary. However, the mistake of enlarging the scope of the struggle was committed. In 1978, the party Central Committee decided to reexamine the cases of those who were designated as rightists and corrected the conclusions regarding those who were wrongly designated as such.
10. The completion of the socialist transformations. This refers to the socialist transformation by the state of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce. The task was basically accomplished in 1956.

11. The two Zhengzhou meetings refer to the meeting called by Mao Zedong in Zhengzhou on 2-10 November 1958 which was attended by some of the central and local leaders, and the enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the party Central Committee convened in Zhengzhou from 27 February to 5 March 1959. The first Zhengzhou meeting discussed theoretical questions concerning socialism and communism and the question of the people's communes, and set about correcting the mistakes that had already been discovered. At the meeting Mao Zedong criticized the erroneous concepts that the people's communes could undergo a quick transition from collective ownership to ownership by the whole people and from socialism to communism, and that commodity production could be abolished. At the second Zhengzhou meeting, the major topic was to solve the question of ownership of the people's communes and curb the tendency to prematurely effect the transition to communism. Based on suggestions of Mao Zedong, the meeting formulated the principles for consolidating and building the people's communes: Instituting in the people's communes the system of decentralization, and management and independent accounting at three levels (people's commune, production brigade and production team) with the production team (in some places this referred to a production brigade approximately the size of an advanced agricultural producers cooperative) as the basic unit. Within a commune recognizing the differences between production teams and between commune members, and carrying out the principles of "to each according to his work" and exchange at equal values. The meeting worked out "Some Regulations Concerning the Management System of the People's Communes (Draft)."
12. Lushan Mountain in Jiangxi Province was the place for an enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the party Central Committee on 2 July-1 August 1959 and for Eighth Plenary Session of the Eighth CPC Central Committee on 2-16 August 1959. Both meetings were known as the Lushan meeting.
13. Seventy Articles on Industrial Work refers to the 70-article "Regulations Concerning Work in State Industrial Enterprises (Draft)" formulated by the party Central Committee in September 1961. After the "Great Leap Forward" of 1958, many enterprises failed to institute a strict responsibility system and paid inadequate attention to business accounting, their wage and award systems practiced egalitarianism and their party committees handled the day-to-day administrative work. As a result, there existed the common phenomena of confused production order, blind direction and arbitrary operation, serious damages to equipment and very poor economic results. In view of this, the draft Seventy Articles on Industrial Work defined clearly the nature of state industrial enterprises and their fundamental tasks, reaffirmed the system of factory directors assuming the responsibility under the leadership of the party committees, required the establishment and improvement of the necessary responsibility systems and rules and regulations, emphasized the principles of carrying out planned management, following distribution according to work, enhancing enterprises' economic results and providing material benefits for workers and staff

members. The discussion on this document and its trial implementation played a positive role in summing up the experiences in the management work of the state industrial enterprises, carrying out the principle of readjustment, consolidating, filling out and raising standards, and accelerating the restoration and development of China's industry.

14. Twelve Articles on Agricultural Work refers to the 12-article "Urgent Letter of Directives Concerning the Current Policies for Rural People's Communes" issued by the party Central Committee on 3 November 1960. This document pointed out that the tendency to prematurely effect the transition to communism--a tendency characterized by requisition for the property of collective economic units without compensation--was seriously damaging the agricultural productive forces and should therefore be resolutely opposed and thoroughly corrected. Among other things, the document stipulated: The rural people's communes should institute the three-level ownership with the production contingents as the basic units (at that time this referred to the existing production contingents which were renamed production brigades in 1961 and their subdivided production groups renamed production teams; on 13 February 1962, the party Central Committee issued a directive making the production teams, instead of the production brigades, the basic accounting units of the rural people's communes); commune members should be allowed to farm small private plots and engage in small-scale household sideline production; the principle of "to each according to his work" should be resolutely upheld and work should be combined with adequate rest. The letter of directives played a positive role in correcting the "tendency to prematurely effect the transition to communism" and changing the undesirable situation in the countryside at that time.
15. Sixty Articles on the Work of People's Communes refers to the "Regulations on the Work of Rural People's Communes (Draft)" formulated by the party Central Committee in March 1961. Aimed at correcting the egalitarianism of that time between production brigades and between members of people's communes, the document laid down fairly systematic stipulations for reducing the relatively large sizes of the communes and production brigades, correcting the tendency of people's communes to exercise rigid control over too many things of their subordinate units, and improving the democratic system and management. In May and June of the same year, the party Central Committee revised this draft and formulated the "Regulations on the Work of Rural People's Communes (Revised Draft)" for discussion and adoption on a trial basis, in which further stipulations were made to abolish the free supply system regarding distribution and to close public canteens. On 27 September 1962, the 10th Plenary Session of the 8th CPC Central Committee formally adopted the "Regulations on the Work of Rural People's Communes (Revised Draft)." The implementation of the Sixty Articles on the Work of People's Communes played an important role in restoring rural economy.

16. The conference of early 1962, attended by 7,000 people, refers to the enlarged working conference held in Beijing by the party Central Committee on 11 January-7 February 1962. Attending the meeting were more than 7,000 responsible members of the party Central Committee, the sub-bureaus of the party Central Committee, party committees of the various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, prefectural and county party committees, party committees of important factories, mines and enterprises as well as the army. At the meeting, Liu Shaoqi delivered a report on behalf of the party Central Committee, in which he made an initial summary of the experiences gained and lessons learned in the work since the "Great Leap Forward" of 1958, analyzed the major shortcomings and mistakes in the work in the previous several years and pointed out that the major task for the entire party was to conduct readjustment effectively. Mao Zedong also delivered an important speech, in which he emphatically pointed out the necessity of improving democratic centralism and giving full play to democracy within and outside the party. He also pointed out the need of deepening the understanding of the law of socialist construction on the basis of summing up both the positive and negative experiences. He also said that he should be held responsible for the shortcomings and mistakes in the work of the previous few years and made a self-criticism.
17. The Beidaihe meeting refers to a work meeting in Beidaihe called by the party Central Committee from late July to late August 1962. It made preparations for the convocation of the 10th Plenary Session of the 8th CPC Central Committee. During the meeting, Mao Zedong talked about class, the situation and contradictions on several occasions and stressed repeatedly that classes still existed in our country. He held that the bourgeoisie would exist in the whole historical period of socialism and expounded the class struggle, which does exist to a certain extent in socialist society, in broad and absolute terms.
18. The "four clean-ups" is also called the socialist education movement. It was a movement carried out in some rural areas and a small number of urban factories, mines and enterprises and schools from 1963 to May 1966 to clean up in the fields of politics, economy, organization and ideology. Although the movement played somewhat of a role in solving the problems in the style of work of the cadres and the economic management, these problems with different nature were all regarded as class struggle or reflections of class struggle in the party. In the latter half of 1964, many cadres at the grassroots level suffered from undeserved attack. In January 1965, the party Central Committee formulated the 23-article "Some Current Problems Raised in the Socialist Education Movement in the Rural Areas." The document corrected some "left" deviations in the socialist education movement, but it erroneously stipulated that the main target of the movement was the so-called "party persons in power taking the capitalist road."
19. Two written instructions on literary and art work refer to Mao Zedong's written instruction to Peng Zhen and Liu Ren on the existing problems in the art work on 12 December 1963, and his written

instruction on 27 June 1964 on the "Report Concerning the Rectification Campaign of the China Federation of Literary and Art Circles and Its Various Associations (Draft)" by the Propaganda Department of the party Central Committee. The instructions said: "The 'dead' still dominate in many departments" of literature and art; in the last 15 years the literary and art associations and most of their publications have basically not carried out the policies of the party and "in recent years, they have slid right down to the brink of revisionism." After the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the party Central Committee formally declared that the censure on literary and art work in the two written instructions did not tally with the actual conditions and that it was later used by the "Summary of the Forum on the Work in Literature and Art in the Armed Forces" to produce serious consequences.

20. The 1958 setbacks refer to the mistakes during the "Great Leap Forward" and the people's commune movement in 1958. In August that year, the Political Bureau of the party Central Committee held its enlarged meeting in Beidaihe which put forward the proposal that the steel output in 1958 should double that of 1957, reaching 10.7 million tons, and decided that people's communes should be established universally in the rural areas. After the meeting, an upsurge of making steel by all the people and the people's commune movement took shape in the country, and the "left" mistakes widely spread in the nation which were characterized by setting excessively high targets, giving arbitrary directives, exaggerating accomplishments and the tendency to prematurely effect the transition to communism. These confused the normal order in economic construction, wasted enormous labor power and resources, and led to serious disproportions in the national economy.
21. The "two whatevers" view refers to a statement in the editorial entitled "Study the Document Well and Grasp the Key Link" by RENMIN RIBAO, RED FLAG and JIEFANGJUN BAO: "We must resolutely support whatever policy decisions Chairman Mao made and consistently follow whatever directives Chairman Mao issued."
22. Act according to the principles laid down was the so-called Chairman Mao's deathbed testament fabricated by the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique. They wanted to act according to the principles laid down, that is, to act according to the erroneous principles Mao Zedong laid down in his later years.
23. The seventh party congress refers to the Seventh National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party held in Yanan from 23 April to 11 June 1945. Mao Zedong made a political report "On Coalition Government," Zhu De made a military report "On the Battlefronts of the Liberated Areas," Liu Shaoqi made the "Report on the Revision of the Party Constitution" and Zhou Enlai made an important speech "On the United Front." The congress decided on the line of the party, which was "boldly to mobilize the masses and expand the people's forces so that

under the leadership of our party, they will defeat the Japanese aggressors, liberate the whole people and build a new-democratic China." The congress also adopted the new party constitution and elected the new party Central Committee. The new party constitution defined that Mao Zedong Thought--the integration of the theory of Marxism-Leninism with the practice of the Chinese revolution--as the guide for all work of the Chinese Communist Party. It was a congress of unity and victory.

24. In view of the mistakes in the work of examining cadres' personal histories being conducted at that time, this is an important policy put forward by Mao Zedong on 9 October 1943 in his written instructions on a piece of material.
25. He Long (1896-1969), a native of Sangzhi, Hunan Province, was then a member of the Political Bureau of the party Central Committee, vice chairman of the Military Commission of the party Central Committee and vice premier of the State Council. He was persecuted to death by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques during the "Cultural Revolution." The party Central Committee decided to rehabilitate his reputation in September 1974 and completely exonerated him in October 1982.
26. Around February 1967, at the briefings of the Political Bureau of the party Central Committee (the Huai Ren Tang meetings) and the meetings of the Military Commission of the party Central Committee, Tan Zhenlin, Chen Yi, Ye Jianying, Li Fuchun, Li Xiannian, Xu Xiangqian and Nie Rongzhen strongly criticized the errors of the "Cultural Revolution." But these were smeared as the "February adverse current" and were suppressed and attacked. Zhu De and Chen Yun also were mistakenly criticized. At the same time, the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques took the opportunity to stir up the so-called wave of "counterattacking the adverse current of restoration spreading from above to below," and attacked and persecuted party and state leading cadres at various levels on a still larger scale. After the traitorous fleeing of Lin Biao in 1971, Mao Zedong said that the "February adverse current" should not be mentioned again. After the "gang of four" was smashed, the party Central Committee formally announced the rehabilitation of the "February adverse current."
27. The ninth party congress refers to the Ninth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party held from 1 to 24 April 1969 in Beijing. The congress legitimized the erroneous theories and practices of the "Cultural Revolution" and strengthened the position of Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and Kang Sheng in the party Central Committee. The guiding principles of the ninth party congress were wrong ideologically, politically and organizationally.
28. See "Our Study and the Current Situation," "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 3, p 165.

29. Henry Kissinger (1923-) was assistant to U.S. President Nixon for national security affairs at that time. He came to Beijing in July 1971 to hold talks with Premier Zhou Enlai on the normalization of relations between the two countries.
30. Richard Nixon (1913-), a Republican, was President of the United States at that time.
31. Peng Zhen was then a member of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, a member of the Secretariat of the party Central Committee, the first secretary of the Beijing municipal party committee, a vice chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and mayor of Beijing. Luo Ruiqing was then a member of the Secretariat of the party Central Committee, the secretary general of the Military Commission of the party Central Committee, the chief of the General Staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army and a vice premier of the State Council. Lu Dingyi was then an alternate member of the Political Bureau of the party Central Committee, a member of the Secretariat of the party Central Committee, the head of the Propaganda Department of the party Central Committee and a vice premier of the State Council. Yang Shangkun was then an alternate member of the Secretariat of the party Central Committee and director of the General Office of the party Central Committee. During the early stage of the "Cultural Revolution," they were mistakenly designated as the "Peng Zhen-Luo Ruiqing-Lu Dingyi-Yang Shangkun counterrevolutionary clique." The party Central Committee issued documents in February 1979, in May 1980, in June 1979 and in October 1980 respectively to clear their names.
32. Peng Dehuai was then a member of the Political Bureau of the party Central Committee, a vice premier of the State Council and concurrently the minister of national defense. Huang Kecheng was at that time a member of the Secretariat of the party Central Committee and the chief of the General Staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. Zhang Wentian was then an alternate member of the Political Bureau of the party Central Committee and a vice minister of foreign affairs. Zhou Xiaozhou was then an alternate member of the party Central Committee and the first secretary of the Hunan provincial party committee. At the Eighth Plenary Session of the Eighth CPC Central Committee held in August 1959, they were mistakenly designated as a "right opportunist antiparty group." On 27 June 1981, the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee adopted the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China" which announced: The resolution passed by the Eighth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the party concerning the so-called "antiparty group of Peng Dehuai, Huang Kecheng, Zhang Wentian and Zhou Xiaozhou" was entirely wrong.
33. The 11th National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party was held from 12 to 18 August 1977 in Beijing. The congress played a positive role

in exposing and criticizing the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique and mobilizing the whole party to build China into a modern, powerful socialist country. Because of limitations of the historical conditions and the erroneous influence of Hua Guofeng at that time, the political report of the congress still confirmed erroneous theories, policies and slogans of the "Cultural Revolution" and thus played a negative role, hindering the process of bringing order out of chaos. When Deng Xiaoping gave this talk, he could not analyze both aspects of the role of the 11th party congress because conditions were not yet mature.

34. The Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee held nine meetings in succession from 10 November to 5 December 1980 and unanimously adopted the "Circular of the Meeting of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee." The circular notified the whole party of the "left" and other mistakes made by Hua Guofeng after the downfall of the "gang of four," and of the suggestions which the Political Bureau decided to make to the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee--accepting the resignation of Hua Guofeng from his posts as chairman of the party Central Committee and chairman of the Military Commission of the party Central Committee, and electing Hu Yaobang chairman of the party Central Committee and Deng Xiaoping chairman of the Military Commission of the party Central Committee.

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A BRILLIANT TREATISE MARKING THE PERIOD OF GREAT HISTORIC CHANGE--
INTRODUCING 'SELECTED WORKS OF DENG XIAOPING'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 13, 1 Jul 83 pp 16-22

[Article by Li Qi; passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] At a time when we are celebrating the 62d anniversary of the founding of the CPC, "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" is published. This is a great issue which people have expected for quite a long time.

Selected in the works are 47 important speeches delivered by Comrade Deng Xiaoping during the period from 1975 to the 12th CPC National Congress held in 1982, 39 of which have never been published before. Two important events happened in the period covered by "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," namely, the smashing of the "gang of four" and the convocation of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. Based on this, the articles in the book can be divided into three parts.

The first part deals with 1975, the late stage of the "Great Cultural Revolution." There are a total of eight articles in this part, the most important ones being "The Whole Party Must Take Into Consideration the Overall Situation and Boost the National Economy" and "All Fields Must Be Straightened Out." This was the time when the "gang of four" ran wild and threw their weight around. At such a crucial moment, Comrade Xiaoping took up the responsibility of being in charge of the routine work of the party and state. Regardless of being toppled once again, he resolutely waged a tit-for-tat struggle against the "gang of four." Starting from rectifying the army, he repeatedly proposed several rectifications, and attempted to ease the situation so as to restore political stability and to boost the national economy. Unfortunately, the so-called "criticizing Deng and counterattacking the right deviation of reversing previous verdicts" movement carried out later interrupted the historical process. But Comrade Xiaoping represented the correct leadership of the party, and his speeches, which corresponded with the will of the party and people, are still remembered by people even today.

The second part deals with 1977 and 1978, the first 2 years following the smashing of the "gang of four." There are a total of 13 articles in this part, the most important ones being "'Two Whatevers' Does Not Correspond

With Marxism," "Speech at the Opening Ceremony of the National Conference on Science," and "Speech at the PLA Conference on Political Work." At that time, the 10 years of turmoil came to an end and the "gang of four" was being criticized, but the "left" erroneous guiding ideas which caused the turmoil had not yet been clearly eliminated. Also at that time, Comrade Hua Guofeng put forward the wrong guiding principle of "two whatevers," seriously hampering the movement of bringing order out of chaos. Our party was faced with the difficulty of marching forward in hesitation. Before coming out to work, Comrade Xiaoping carefully and deliberately put forward the idea "completely and correctly understand Mao Zedong Thought," and clearly pointed out that "two whatevers" did not correspond with Marxism. After coming out to work, he personally grasped the work of bringing order out of chaos on scientific and educational fronts, and broke the forbidden area of "two estimations." Shortly after the holding of the discussion on the criteria of truth, he firmly supported the discussion at the army conference on political work, and repeatedly delivered speeches stressing the restoration of the fine tradition of seeking truth from facts. All these made theoretical preparations for the reestablishment of a Marxist ideological line within the party, for the convocation of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, and for achieving historical changes.

The third part deals with the period from the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee in 1978 to the 12th CPC National Congress in 1982. There are a total of 26 articles in this part, the most important ones being "Emancipate the Mind, Seek Truth From Facts, Unite as One, and Look Ahead," "Uphold the Four Basic Principles," "Some Ideas on Drafting the 'Resolution on Some Questions in the History of the Party Since the Founding of the PRC,'" "Carry Out the Policy of Readjustment, Ensure Stability and Unity," and "Opening Speech at the 12th CPC National Congress." Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, we have brought order out of chaos in all fields, and the 60th anniversary of the founding of the CPC, the CPC Central Committee made the "Resolution on Some Questions in the History of the Party Since the Founding of the PRC," summed up historical experiences, and unified the thinking of the whole party. Comrade Xiaoping concretely guided the work of drafting the "Resolution." Along with the shifting of the main task of the whole party, Comrade Deng Xiaoping once again led us in exploring how to build socialism with Chinese characteristics, and also put forth a series of problems about theory and policies. All these were later summarized in the documents of the 12th CPC National Congress, and were systematically expounded and further developed.

"Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" has substantial content, involving the fields of politics, economy, science, education, literature and art, and united front, the army, and the party's construction. The following is a brief introduction to its main contents.

/1. Throw Off the Shackles of Dogmatism and Personality Cult, Reestablish the Ideological Line of Seeking Truth From Facts and Dialectical Materialism/

Dialectical materialism is the theoretical basis to guide our ideology. During the 10 years of turmoil, the personality cult was lauded to the sky, and quotations from one's works became the sole criteria and standard to judge right and wrong and to guide practical work, resulting in the serious deviation of our work from the ideological line of Marxism. After the smashing of the "gang of four," Comrade Hua Guofeng put forth the guiding principle of "two whatevers," and persisted in "leftist" mistakes. Comrade Xiaoping was the first one to call on the whole party to emancipate the mind, throw off the shackles, and return to the ideological line of seeking truth from facts. His call was the precursor of the subsequent discussion of far-reaching significance on the problem of the criteria of truth. He pointed out: We must proceed from practice, not from a book, and the ideological line of seeking truth from facts was the foundation for formulating a correct political line and a guarantee for correctly implementing a political line, and the guiding principle of emancipating the mind and seeking truth from facts was a great political problem concerning the future and destiny of the party and state. All these ideas have been deeply expounded in his article "Emancipate the Mind, Seek Truth From Facts, Unite as One, and Look Ahead." This article was actually the subject of the report to the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee which marked a great historical turning point, playing a decisive role in reestablishing a Marxist ideological line within the party, in removing ideological obstacles, and in stimulating bringing order out of chaos on all fronts.

/2. Revise the Wrong Theory on Class Struggle, Shift the Focus of the Whole Party and State Onto Economic Construction/

The wrong estimation of the situation of class struggle created a systematic "leftist" theory on class struggle. For quite a long time, the party and state focused on class struggle and failed to shift it to economic construction. This is the basic bitter lesson since the 8th CPC National Congress. When Comrade Deng Xiaoping was in charge of the work of the central leadership in early 1975, he put forth the idea of "treating the three instructions as a key link," centering on "boosting the national economy." Through rectification, he attempted to end the turmoil and create a stable political situation for carrying out economic construction. Under the situation of "treating class struggle as the key link" and criticizing the so-called "theory on stressing productive forces alone," Comrade Xiaoping's idea was very commendable. In September 1978, when a basic victory had been won in the movement of exposing and criticizing the "gang of four," he pointed out that after the movement basically came to an end, we must grasp routine work and must not endlessly carry out the movement. The basic expression of the superiority of the socialist system was the rapid development of social productive forces and the gradual meeting of the needs of the people in material and cultural life. The 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee made a strategic decision to

shift the focus of our work. Afterward, Comrade Xiaoping systematically revised and corrected erroneous theories on class struggle. After making an analysis of the fundamental changes in the class status of China's society he made a new assessment of the main contradictions in China's society, which corresponded with objective reality. He pointed out: In a socialist society, class struggle will still exist for quite a long time within a certain scope, and this was a unique legacy left over by previous class struggles in socialist conditions. We should neither diminish nor expand it. The theory on carrying out a "revolution" in which "one class overthrows the other" after the working class has seized political power and completed socialist transformation of private ownership of the means of production has been proved wrong by practice. Comrade Xiaoping said: Our main contradiction at the present stage is the very low level in the development of productive forces, which is far from meeting the needs of the people and state, and resolving this main contradiction is our central task. All these penetrating analyses made by him have restored and developed the correct line of the 8th CPC National Congress. In order to ensure the smooth progress and healthy development of economic construction, while removing the obstacles of "leftist" ideas, which negated the policy of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, Comrade Xiaoping successively put forward that we must adhere to the four basic principles and four guarantees, directly lead the whole party in carrying out the struggles of fighting against the ideological tendency of bourgeois liberalism, and hit hard at serious crimes in economic and other fields. The four basic principles put forth by him have been recorded in the general program of the party constitution and have become the general guiding thought of China's Constitution and the common political foundation for achieving the unity of the whole party and the unity of the people of various nationalities throughout the country.

/3. Proceed From China's Conditions, Take the Road of Building Socialist Modernization of the Chinese Style/

In the past, due to the lack of experiences and the frequent copying of foreign methods, there appeared in our economic construction a certain kind of dogmatism and some patterns. While guiding the practice of building modernization, Comrade Xiaoping particularly stressed that we must sum up historical experiences, break some fixed patterns, and formulate guiding principles and policies proceeding from China's conditions. In 1979, he pointed out that in the past we carried out democratic revolution according to China's conditions, and at present we must also carry out construction according to China's conditions and take a road of building modernization of the Chinese style. The opening speech at the 12th CPC National Congress is a programmatic document for building the four modernizations and creating a new situation. In the speech, he pointed out that whether in revolution or construction, we must pay attention to studying and using the experience of other countries, but copying experience and patterns of other countries has never been successful. He called on us "to integrate the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete practice of China, and take our own road to build socialism with Chinese characteristics," thus pointing out to us the correct road for future revolution and construction.

Meanwhile, he put forth many important strategic ideas and a series of guiding principles and policies, such as making the development of China's economic construction and the people's material and cultural life attain a comparatively well-off level at the end of the century; enlarging the decisionmaking power of localities and enterprises; fully arousing the enthusiasm of the state, localities, enterprises, and individuals; managing the economy with an economic method; universally establishing congresses or associations of workers; gradually practicing the method of electing leaders within a certain scope; practicing various responsibility systems; implementing the principle of distribution according to work to make some people rich first so as to lead all people toward common wealth; and adopting an open-door policy toward foreign countries. All these ideas have been proved correct by the practice of economic development in recent years.

/4. Attach Importance to Knowledge, Intellectuals, Science, and Education/

In early 1977, when Comrade Xiaoping had not yet come out to work, he explicitly pointed out that it was necessary to create an atmosphere within the party of respecting knowledge and talented people. At a time when there still existed the obstinate prejudice of neglecting knowledge and looking down at intellectuals, his idea was full of vision and sagacity. Before long he offered to undertake the responsibility of being in charge of scientific and education work, and delivered many important speeches. Proceeding from Marx' view of science and technology being productive forces, and based on the fact that science and technology have played an important role in developing social productive forces in the world over the past several decades, he pointed out: Developing science and education, and achieving modernization in science and technology are the keys to achieving China's four modernizations. Breaking the forbidden area, he spoke for millions of intellectuals and overthrew the "two estimations" on them. He criticized the crime of the "gang of four" who distorted the division between mental labor and manual labor as class opposition and undermined the alliance between workers, peasants, and intellectuals. He scientifically expounded that in a socialist society, both mental and manual laborers are laborers and their difference is but the social division of labor. On behalf of the central leadership, he reaffirmed that the vast majority of intellectuals had become the intellectuals of the working class and laboring people, that is, they have become a part of the working class. He also expounded the dialectical relationship between "Red" and "expert," and others. Today the policy on intellectuals has yet to be further implemented, and restudying these speeches of Comrade Xiaoping is of practical significance.

/5. Give Full Play to the Superiority of the Socialist System, Reform the Leadership System of the Party and State/

In recent years Comrade Xiaoping has time and again stressed that it is necessary to conduct a series of reforms in order to carry out the four modernizations. Reforms must be carried out in the whole process of building the four modernizations. This is an important guiding idea by which our party leads the building of the four modernizations. He has stressed

that it is necessary to reform the leadership and organization systems. While summing up the experience of the roots of the 10 years of turmoil, he said: I do not mean that no individual person should be blamed for that, but that the systems of leadership and organization are factors that are more fundamental, comprehensive, stable, and protracted. Many defects exist in our present system, and if they are not resolutely eliminated, the modernization cause will be destroyed. In order to give full play to the superiority of the socialist system he demanded that economically we must rapidly develop productivity and gradually improve people's material and cultural life, politically we must fully carry forward democracy and perfect the legal system, and organizationally we must bring about a great number of talented people who uphold the four basic principles, are comparatively young, and have professional knowledge.

"Reform of the Leadership System of the Party and State" has systematically expounded problems in these fields and pointed out the direction for carrying out the reform. In the article, he emphatically talked about the problem of how to guarantee the implementation of ideological and political lines, calling for the abolition of the lifelong tenure of the cadres' leading positions, for the conscious replacement of the old by the young in party and government leading organizations at all levels, and for the gradual realization of the goal of making leading persons more revolutionary, younger, more intellectual, and more professional. We must resolutely get rid of shortsighted views which fail to observe a problem in the long run, and we must promote a great number of excellent middle-aged and young cadres so as to guarantee that there is no lack of successors to carry on our cause. In other articles, he also says: The most important task for elderly cadres is to cultivate and select middle-aged and young cadres and, if we fail to properly resolve this problem, we will have no face to meet Marx. Since the 5th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, we have established the Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee, and have carried out the handing over and taking over of power in a collective manner. Beginning in 1982, we started streamlining the structure and our party is now carrying out properly and step by step the reform in this regard.

/6. While Building a High Degree of Material Civilization, Build a High Degree of Socialist Spiritual Civilization/

The 12th CPC Congress has treated equally the building of a high degree of socialist spiritual civilization and the building of a high degree of socialist material civilization, and has treated it as a fighting goal of the whole party. This is a new development in scientific socialism. In the process of establishing this formulation, Comrade Xiaoping rendered many expositions. He explained spiritual civilization in a scientific way, saying that it comprehends not only science, education, and culture, but also communist ideology, ideals, beliefs, ethics, discipline, revolutionary stand and principle, and the comradely relationship between man and man. He said: The more vigorously we carry out economic reforms and adopt an open policy toward foreign countries, the more importance we must attach to the building of spiritual civilization, otherwise, we will disarm ourselves

spiritually. His remarks are sharp and penetrating, calling for deep thought. The slogan raised by him of "making the people of various nationalities of our country become people who have ideals, moral integrity and culture, and observe discipline" has now become the normal conduct and the fighting goal of the people all over the country.

/7. Build a Revolutionary Patriotic United Front/

Comrade Xiaoping was chairman of the Fifth National CPPCC Committee. He gave a scientific exposition of the nature, tasks, and targets of the united front in the new period, explained the Central Committee's basic viewpoint on the united front in the new period, and made new and major policy decisions for realizing the great unity and reunification of our country. "The Tasks of the United Front and the CPPCC in the New Period" points out: There have been fundamental changes in the social class situation in China, and our country's united front has become an extensive alliance under working class leadership and based on the worker-peasant alliance, including socialist laborers and patriots who support socialism. Afterward, he also included patriots who support the reunification of the motherland within the scope of the united front, and called for the uniting of all forces that can be united, under the banner of patriotism, to make common efforts to build China into a powerful socialist state, fulfill the great cause of reunification, including the return of Taiwan to the motherland, and promote the international struggle against hegemonism.

/8. Build a Modernized and Regularized Revolutionary Army/

Comrade Xiaoping threw all his energy into the building of the People's Army in the new historical conditions. As many as 10 speeches on the army are included in this book. The main contents of these speeches are: The army must be straightened out and must firmly establish the idea of being ready to fight; it is necessary to raise education and training to a strategic position, strengthen the army's military and political qualities, improve the ability of various branches of the armed forces to fight in coordination, and improve the standard of command in modern warfare; it is necessary to inherit and carry forward the glorious traditions of the People's Army, and bring closer the relations between army and government and army and people; it is necessary to strengthen political and ideological work and strive to make the army a model in implementing the party's line, policies, and principles; it is necessary to strengthen military research work and improve weapons and equipment; it is necessary to make preparations for opposing a war of aggression, and fulfill the glorious mission of defending the country and the four modernizations drive. Since Comrade Xiaoping presided over the Central Military Commission, very great changes have taken place in the features of the army, and it is now forging ahead in big strides toward revolutionization, modernization, and regularization.

/9. Build the Party Into a Strong Core Leading the Cause of Socialist Modernization/

It was Comrade Xiaoping's consistent idea to strengthen the building of the party and uphold and improve party leadership. When our party is correcting

its own mistakes, certain people try to negate and shake party leadership. Comrade Xiaoping pointed out that it is impossible for the party leadership to make no mistakes, but this must certainly not become a reason for weakening and doing away with party leadership. History has proven that mistakes can only be corrected by relying on the party, not in being separate from it. The core in upholding the four basic principles is to uphold party leadership. This principle cannot be shaken; if it is, China will revert to fragmentation and chaos and will thus be unable to achieve modernization. He also pointed out that, in order to uphold party leadership, it is necessary to strive to improve it. It is necessary to put democratic centralism on a sound basis, oppose the personality cult, and institute a division of labor between party and government; party leadership is mainly political, ideological, and organizational, and it cannot monopolize the administrative work and production command work of the government and the enterprises; it is necessary to improve the party's organizational state, rectify the party organizations, strengthen party discipline, and promote a fundamental turn for the better in party work style.

/10. Preserve Comrade Mao Zedong's Historical Position and Correctly Evaluate Mao Zedong Thought/

After the smashing of the "gang of four," the question of how to evaluate Comrade Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought became a highly focal and sensitive issue internationally and domestically; if it was not handled properly, it would cause confusion and turmoil. Since 1977, Comrade Xiaoping proposed that we should "apply accurate and integral Mao Zedong Thought" to guide our work, supported the discussion on the criteria of truth, and eventually led the drafting of the "Resolution on Some Questions in the History of the Party Since the Founding of the PRC." He did a great deal of effective work in a measured way, and solved this problem scientifically and properly. The "Resolution on Some Questions in the History of the Party Since the Founding of the PRC" adopted by the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee reached its goal of unifying the thinking of the whole party; it both seriously corrected the mistakes made by Comrade Mao Zedong in his last years, and also preserved the historical position of Comrade Mao Zedong; it opposed both the erroneous "leftist" guideline of the "two whatevers," and also the rightist thinking that negated the scientific conclusion of our party in integrating Marxism with the practice of China's revolution and construction; it preserved the party's fine traditions formed over a long period of struggle, and upheld the scientific truth of Mao Zedong Thought. This fully expressed Comrade Xiaoping's scientific spirit of historical materialism and his art of leadership.

The "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" is a brilliant treatise of the period of great historic change. It shows how the party led step by step the realization of the historic change, from the struggle against the "gang of four" to the correction of "leftist" errors, the shift in work focus, and all-round socialist construction; it shows how the party's line, principles, and policies since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee have inherited the correct policies of our party in the past, including the policies in straightening out all aspects of work in 1975, and were

gradually formed, perfected, and developed; it shows how our party has led the people of the whole country to probe a socialist path with Chinese characteristics; and it shows how our party has upheld and developed Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought in the new historical conditions. The publication of "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," as stated in the book's "publication explanation," "is not only of indelible historic significance but is also of major guiding significance in our country's socialist construction now and in the future."

/11. "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" Is a Product of the Period of Great Historic Change/

During the 7 or 8 years from 1975 to the 12th party congress in 1982, major changes took place in our country. In 1975 Comrade Xiaoping emerged to preside over central work, but the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique was still making trouble. As a result of the smashing of this clique and the convening of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our party achieved the great change of far-reaching importance in history. In guiding ideology, we shook off the fetters of "leftist" errors that had existed for a long time, shifted the focus of work of party and state to economic construction, and embarked afresh on the path of healthy development; we summed up the experiences of 30 years and decided on the program and strategic goals for socialist construction, together with a whole series of new principles and policies, in accordance with the basic principles of Marxism and based on scientific analysis of the national condition; we overcame the errors of dead dogmatism, integrated theory with vivid practice that changes with each passing day, restored the original features of Mao Zedong Thought, and also developed it. In short, during this period, we gradually emerged from our predicament of vast accumulation of problems and bad old practices dying hard, and turned a chaotic country into an orderly land where progress is relatively fast. As certain comrades have said, in many respects the present time is one of the best since the founding of the state. Although many difficulties and problems still face us, our country is advancing toward prosperity and we are now creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization. In this period of great change, the creative practice of the party and the millions of the masses have provided abundant sources and a vast field for the development of scientific socialist theory. A great era is bound to produce theoretical works that correspond to it. Comrade Xiaoping's statements were produced against this vast historical background.

/12. "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" Reflect the Policymaking Role of Comrade Xiaoping in Our Party and State Affairs/

It is the party and the Central Committee that have led us in bringing about this great change. The revolutionaries of the older generation have played a steering and policymaking role in the highest leadership core; and among them, the contributions of Comrade Xiaoping are all the more well known. Comrade Xiaoping takes a broad and long-term view, considers matters carefully, and has actively recommended and supported younger comrades in working in the first line, while he has retired to the second line. His position and role have not been diminished in the least by this action.

Since Comrade Xiaoping has a very long history of revolution and abundant experience in leadership, since he has had profound self-cultivation in Marxist theory, since he has revolutionary courage and insight and the scientific truth-seeking spirit, and since his heart is closely linked to the masses, he therefore enjoys tremendous prestige in the party and is a leading comrade whom we all cherish and revere. The "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" constitute a record and proof of the outstanding role he has played in party and state political activities.

/13. "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" Have Absorbed Collective Wisdom and Summed Up the Fresh Experiences of the Masses/

Our party practices the collective leadership system, and all important decisions are taken collectively, not by an individual. After the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the political life of our party, and first of the Central Committee, returned to normal, democratic centralism was placed on a sound basis, and the system of collective leadership was implemented still better. However, this by no means negates the role of an outstanding individual. During the period of the historic change the many major issues of theory, principle, and policy expounded by Comrade Xiaoping concentrated the party's collective wisdom and reflected the masses' interests; they were therefore accepted by the Central Committee and, after collective discussion there, were further perfected and augmented, and formed into many major central policy decisions of recent years. Comrade Xiaoping's selected works profoundly reflect the demands of history and the aspirations of the people; they are a summation of the experiences of the Chinese people in their creative practice in socialist construction under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought; and this is an important political theory book of our party in the new period.

/14. The "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" Have Made a New Contribution in Upholding and Developing Mao Zedong Thought/

Our party has achieved very great success in upholding and developing Mao Zedong Thought since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. We have brought order out of chaos in a fundamental way in ideology and theory, and reaffirmed and elucidated a number of correct theories that had been negated by "leftist" errors during and before the "Great Cultural Revolution"; in accordance with the changes in historical conditions, we have replaced some obsolete conclusions with new viewpoints, and augmented and enriched original basic theories with new practical experiences; and we have studied new situations, solved new problems, and put forward a number of new theoretical viewpoints. This is the contribution of the whole party to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, and it includes the outstanding contribution of Comrade Xiaoping. In the new historical conditions, Comrade Xiaoping has integrated the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete practice of our country and correctly solved a whole series of basic problems in the development process of our socialist construction. His selected works are models of linking theory with practice. This is a scientific book of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, which will add new luster to the treasury of Marxist-Leninist theory.

/15. The "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" Are of Major Guiding Significance for Current Work/

Studying the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" helps us to deepen our understanding of the party's line, principles, and policies since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, do still better in maintaining political unity with the Central Committee, and enhance our spontaneity in implementing the 10th party congress spirit. The great majority of people support the line since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee.

However, certain people have muddled ideas and misgivings over it. They either misinterpret the destruction of the personality cult and are suspicious of the current policies; or else they are worried that there will be a return to the "leftist" road of the past and are afraid that the policies will change. By studying this book, people will be able to understand how the Central Committee and Comrade Xiaoping have seriously corrected the errors of the party and Comrade Mao Zedong, correctly preserved the historic position of Comrade Mao Zedong, and upheld Mao Zedong Thought, and how the policies have formed, changed, and developed since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. In this way the muddled ideas of certain people can be cleared, and we will then be better able to unify people's thinking and maintain political unity with the Central Committee.

Studying the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" helps us to press forward the four modernizations and the reforms. All our work revolves around the four modernizations in the new period. The central idea in this book by Comrade Xiaoping is that we should break through the constraints of all kinds of rules and regulations, emancipate our minds, base our efforts on China's national condition, reform all old systems that do not meet the needs of the four modernizations drive, and probe a road of Chinese-style socialist modernization. By seriously studying and following this guiding principle, we will be able to create a new situation in all fields of work.

Studying the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" helps us to step up the building of spiritual civilization and unfold struggle against erroneous ideas. Building spiritual civilization is an indispensable strategic task in building a modern socialist country, and this is also an important aspect expounded in the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping." There are two important aspects of building spiritual civilization, one being socialist cultural building, and the other ideological building centered on communist ideology. At present the tasks on the ideological front are very heavy. We must conduct education in patriotism and communism for the masses, especially for the younger generation. We must continue to eliminate the pernicious influence of the "gang of four" and erroneous "leftist" influences. We must resist inroads by decadent capitalist ideology from outside, and oppose bourgeois liberalization. The "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" are good educational material for conducting education in communist ideology, and also a sharp weapon for opposing erroneous ideology of all types.

Studying the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" helps us to strengthen party building. Ours is the ruling party and the core of leadership of the people of the whole country. Whether we can strengthen party building and uphold and improve party leadership will decide the success or failure of our modernization drive. Comrade Xiaoping has made profound and systematic expositions on how to strengthen the building of the party in ideology, work style, and organization, and how to uphold and improve party leadership. The study of the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" will constitute yet further education for the party and can make ideological preparations for the imminent party rectification.

We believe that the publication of "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" and the deep-going and extensive study and research of this book will enable the line of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee to go still deeper into people's hearts, greatly enhance our levels of ideological theory and policy, and become a powerful spiritual motive force in creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization.

CSO: 4004/40

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF LIFE LIES IN MAKING CONTRIBUTIONS AND NOT MAKING DEMANDS--ON ZHANG HAIDI'S COMMUNIST OUTLOOK ON LIFE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 13, 1 Jul 83 pp 23-27

[Article by Su Yiran [5685 3015 3544], secretary of the Shandong Provincial CPC Committee; passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] A campaign to emulate outstanding CYL member Zhang Haidi has been launched on a nationwide scale. Her meritorious deeds and lofty ideology have made a great impact on the minds of hundreds of millions of people and have produced strong reactions among young people. People see her as the embodiment of the revived and developed Lei Feng spirit of the 1980's. The path she has taken greatly inspires and educates all those who want to be loyal patriots and communists.

Zhang Haidi, 28, was an electronic repair worker at the Shenxian Broadcast Bureau and is now working at the Literary Workers' League of the Liaocheng Prefecture. When she was 5, she suffered from a pathological change in the external blood vessels of the vertebral discs, underwent four major operations, and had six vertebrae removed. All the parts of her body below the chest lost feeling. Over the past 20 years or more, looked after and nurtured by our party and the people, she has struggled against illness with an iron will and has withstood severe tests. She has never been to school. However, thanks to her amazing willpower in carrying out self-study, she completed basic primary school and middle school courses, read more than 1,000 books in politics, literature, medicine and foreign languages, attained university level in English language, and learned Japanese, German and Esperanto. Assisted by comrades, she has translated works and information in English totaling more than 160,000 words. She diligently studied medical and acupuncture techniques and electronic repairing. Over the past 10 years or more, she has performed more than 10,000 medical treatments for the masses and has also tried her best to do her own job well. She has not only studied and worked hard herself, but has also voluntarily and enthusiastically helped the young people around her to overcome difficulties in study or work and to strive for progress. Zhang Haidi has thus opened up a broad path of making contributions to our motherland's socialist modernization.

The basic reason why Zhang Haidi, as a seriously handicapped person, has become a young pioneer, is that she has a correct goal in life and has established a correct outlook on life. One's outlook on life is one's overall view of, and attitude to, the goal and meaning of life. It determines the path and orientation of one's daily life and governs all of one's deeds. It is a basic question which everyone must consider and which requires everyone to make choices. Zhang Haidi's meritorious deeds and lofty ideology show that her outlook on life is a communist one.

/First, Zhang Haidi closely integrates her own future and destiny with those of our country and the people. She merges everything that is hers into the interests of the country and the people./ Like many other young people of this age, she has encountered problems of school education, employment, ideals, prospects, and so on. She has more difficulties than most other people because of her serious illness. On the road of life, she has encountered many more obstacles than people of normal health. However, she has not flinched from difficulties, complained about bad fortune, or blamed other people. Instead, she has consciously "closely integrated" her "own destiny with the people's destiny." She deeply feels that she must not divorce the enhancement of her own interests from our motherland's prosperity and the people's material wellbeing and happiness. In her diary, she wrote: "I remember what Marx said: 'He who enables the majority of people to gain happiness is a happy man himself.' I want to be such a person." Precisely owing to the guidance of such a concept of revolutionary collectivism, Zhang Haidi has a lofty goal of life and her attitude to life is one of indomitable willpower, optimism, and aspiration to progress. Illness is wearing down her life, but she does not think about the horror of death. She only feels "afraid of losing confidence and strength, which enable me to advance." She staunchly fights against illness and firmly believes herself to be a winner. She said: "If one day I become completely paralyzed, I will surely not be dispirited... I will continue to study and work like Paul." [Character in Russian novel "How Steel Is Tempered"] By normal standards, she can be said to have a clear conscience because she has done so much for the people though she is afflicted by illness. However, she still feels that "in my life, I have done much, much too little. I always wish to do 2 days' work in 1 day and keep myself very, very busy." Success and honor have not caused her to place herself in an inappropriate position, to strive for a higher "personal worth," or to exaggerate her own personal role. She has always considered that success and honor stem from the work of the party and the people in nurturing her. She deeply understands that however great the success one has achieved, one will stop advancing and will decline if one becomes complacent; therefore, she feels she must be even more modest and prudent. In the face of difficulties and setbacks, she did not isolate herself from the masses of people, but relied on the "congregation of elements of society" to overcome difficulties, to eliminate obstacles, and to dauntlessly open up a path to progress.

Zhang Haidi has answered in a heroic way the basic question of life: "Why does one live in the world?" She tells us this truth: One must not disregard the people's interests in considering one's personal interests, or

disregard our country's prospects in considering one's own prospects. In our socialist country, one's personal interests are consistent with the people's interests, and one's own prospects are consistent with our country's prospects. If one deviates from the people's interests and our country's prospects to enhance the so-called "personal worth" and one's own prospects, then, one will inevitably lose one's target for advance, get on the wrong track of "taking an ever-narrowing path of life," adhere to the sordid philosophy of "doing things intrinsically for oneself but apparently for others," and embark on the wrong road of egoism.

/Second, she profoundly understands that the meaning of life lies in selflessly and earnestly making contributions to the people./ Even if Zhang Haidi, as a disabled person with two-thirds of her body ruined by illness, had not made any contributions to society, people would still have deep sympathy for her. However, she has not thought in this way and has never behaved according to this rationale. Her primary consideration is not what one should obtain from the world, but what one should contribute to society and the people. She profoundly expressed what she has learned from her experience: "The meaning of life lies in making contributions and not in making demands." What she vigorously seeks are opportunities to serve the people unconditionally. She earnestly desires "to be a diligent sower on this land." Under favorable conditions, she has devoted all her energies to making contributions to society. What is more praiseworthy is that even under adverse conditions, she has not been subdued by difficulties, has more vigorously removed the obstacles on the road of life, and has made contributions to society and the people. When serious illness destroyed her ability to walk and work, when her whole family was sent to the countryside to work during the 10 years of turmoil, and when she was still waiting to be assigned jobs while educated urban youth in the countryside had returned to the towns to take up appointments, she did not despair or become dejected, but accepted all these optimistically and in a spirit of high enthusiasm. She knew that "life is full of contradictions. There are both favorable times and adversities. We must make endeavors in favorable times, and we must even more vigorously make endeavors in adversities." She has been keen to achieve progress. She has turned disadvantageous conditions into advantageous ones, has vigorously strived to enjoy the right to work and the happiness of making contributions to society, has used her healthy hands and brain to learn and master skills for serving the people, and has done her best for society's sake. When some schools needed teachers to teach singing, she offered to do the job. She gave haircuts to children. She volunteered to mend worn-out clothes for educated youths. She could not walk, but she cured paralyzed elderly people and children suffering from polio. She could not enter schools, but she warmly helped other young people to pass examinations and enter universities. She could not do farming work, work in factories, or go to the border areas to defend our motherland, but she enthusiastically encouraged other young people to become advanced producers, model workers, or combat heroes. For the sake of performing medical services for the masses, she used the mere one-third of her body with feeling to perform experiments in acupuncture. To avoid shortening her working time, she consistently avoids drinking water or eating much liquid food in the daytime. Selfless work has caused her spine to be

severely bent into an S-shape. Her shoulders cannot support her body, so that she can only lean on the drawer of her desk. When she remained in this posture for a long time, blood began to stain her shirt. Zhang Haidi has thus silently endured her pains, leaving pleasant things to other people. Through making contributions to society, she has "enhanced her understanding of the meaning of life and enhanced the value of life."

The meaning of life is not judged according to one's age, length of life, state of health, or the amount of one's material wealth. It is judged by whether one has made contributions to society. The greater one's contributions to our motherland and the people, the more meaningful will one's life be. The cause of communism requires people to be devoted, to work selflessly, to develop their own intelligence and skills, to create material wealth and spiritual wealth, and to promote continuous social progress. If one only cares about making demands, stresses one's own "material benefits," does everything for monetary gains, and refuses to make, and never makes, any contributions, one's life will be absolutely meaningless.

/Furthermore, she enthusiastically pursues, and firmly believes in, communist ideals./ The basic reason why Zhang Haidi is imbued with enthusiasm and advances so bravely on the road of life is that communist ideals give her courage and strength. Like other young people of this age, during the 10 years of turmoil, she saw the serious sabotage of our national economy, the dark side of social life, and various unreasonable phenomena. However, her faith did not waver. She repeatedly said: "We firmly believe in communism," and, "I am willing to devote everything that is mine to our party and devote my youth to the magnificent cause of communism." She thinks that "it is an expression of selfishness for some people to lose their faith in communism and to believe in so-called gods and spirits." To busy oneself all the time for one's own private interests at the expense of those of the party and the people is "spineless and sterile." "The greatest blessing is to devote all that one has to the cause of emancipation of mankind, that is, communism." She deeply understands that to turn ideals into reality, people must not only make arduous efforts and work hard, but must also master modern cultural and scientific knowledge. She said: "Ideals are indispensable to life. However, an ideal not supported by knowledge is like a bird without wings. Only people armed with knowledge can freely soar in the blue sky of ideals." Precisely because of this, in those times when "the hero who handed in a blank examination paper" was extolled and the idea that "more learned means more reactionary" was widely preached, she resolutely committed herself to reading books. Day after day and year after year, she arduously studied by herself, valuing her time like gold and, "in the ocean of knowledge, continuously assimilating nutrients which keep the tree of life always green." Even on her sickbed, she read books with the help of a mirror, learned a great deal of knowledge with amazing drive and willpower, enriched her own mind, and strengthened her own skills, thus making a useful contribution to the people.

The path taken by Zhang Haidi reveals to us that one must not live without ideals, which represent one's aspirations and pursuits regarding the future,

and which constitute the spiritual support of life. If one has established communist ideals, one will build one's entire spiritual life upon these ideals and will struggle to help realize them. Contrarily, without communist ideals, one will be shortsighted, will let one's years idly slip by without achievement, and will fall into the abyss of spiritual troubles.

The establishment of the communist outlook on life is a process of continuous studying and self-cultivation, in the course of communist practice. Zhang Haidi's communist outlook on life did not come out of the void nor was it established at one stroke. It was gradually established through her own arduous efforts, self-encouragement and tenacious struggle, under the nurturing effect of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, under the concern of the party and the people, and under the influence of heroes and model personalities who showed a spirit of devotion.

One of Zhang Haidi's characteristics is that she acquires strength for advancing against difficulties and obstacles from the exemplary personalities she respects. Everywhere in her diaries, articles and correspondence, there are evidences of the immense encouraging role of exemplary personalities. She said: "When I meet difficulties in my studies, I think about Madam Curie. When life is depressing and grim, I always encourage myself to love life like Helen." Those models who had lofty communist ideals, who showed the spirit of being utterly and wholeheartedly devoted to serving the people without any thought of self, such as Lei Feng, Paul, Bethune, Jiang Jie, Liu Hulan, and so on, gave her even greater encouragement and strength, and taught her how to live, and what kind of person she must be. She said: "Paul is the model whom I must emulate all my life," and, "in my mind, a communist should be like Jiang Jie, Liu Hulan, Bethune or Lei Feng. They were real communists, who were selfless and disinterested. I have desired to become such a person since an early age. Through all these years, they have always been the models I emulate." The moving deeds and spirit of devotion of the models have made an impact on her heart, urged her to advance, encouraged her to resist and overcome various kinds of negative thinking, and helped her to gradually establish the communist outlook on life.

A model teaches, encourages, and gives strength to people, and also serves as a mirror with which one can examine oneself at any moment. During various historical periods of China's revolution and construction led by our party, there were large numbers of heroic models radiating the brilliance of communist ideology. They were the models of their times and were an important force promoting historical progress. Although their deeds differ, they teach and inspire people in the same way through their spirit of devotion to the communist cause. There are models everywhere. They are all around us, and can be discovered in books or in real life. The key question is whether we consider them as the models to be emulated, follow their examples, compare ourselves to them to urge ourselves on, and derive from them a motive force for advancing, so that our ideology can continuously be upgraded, and a communist outlook on life can be gradually established.

The concern shown by the collective, the people's deep love for her, and our socialist morals and customs, have helped create a good environment for the gradual establishment of Zhang Haidi's communist outlook on life. When Zhang Haidi became disabled, she was not treated with discrimination and indifference. Instead, from every quarter came concern in every way and deeper love than for most children. The fervent and sincere hearts of numerous people warmed her hurt heart. In the hospital, the medical staff gave her careful medical treatment, attention and care. They brought water for her to drink and fed her. At home, her uncles, aunts, and other children often came to visit her. During holidays, her cordial friends always wheeled her to take a tour round some parks or to see movies. In the countryside, the unsophisticated countryfolk treated her as an "honored guest" and gave her melons and fruits of rare species. Her young friends often wheeled her around to see the beauty of nature. In the county town, when she met difficulties in her studies, the comrades around her enthusiastically helped her solve problems. Some of them even volunteered to provide her with study materials and wheeled her to the evening school. At her request, Wang, a teacher of the First Middle School of Shenxian, disregarding political risk, helped her learn the English language. When she was depressed, some young friends gathered round to comfort her and encourage her, and joined her in studying and recreation. These facts demonstrate that Zhang Haidi did not wage a "personal struggle" all by herself. In fact, the new interpersonal relationship under socialism helped her tremendously. She said: "The sunlight of socialism thawed the snow in my heart," "the people of Shenxian enabled me to mature as a mother nurtures her child with her milk," and, "they created an excellent environment in those years when the foundation of my life was laid." The people's deep love and the collective's concern for her enabled her to understand this truth: "Everyone is enjoying the fruits of other people's labor. Enjoyment is a right, with which comes obligations, or responsibility. Everyone has the obligation and responsibility of making contributions to society." From her experience, she came to understand the meaning of life and know her correct position in human society.

In our socialist China, interpersonal relationships appear as those between comrades, marked by unity, friendship, and mutual help. Everyone can enjoy the warmth given by the collective and the people's love. Everyone must also shoulder one's responsibility toward society and fulfill the obligation of serving the people. The enjoyment of warmth and love has enhanced some people's sense of responsibility for making contributions to the people. However, some people just have an easy conscience and are not aware of their own obligations and responsibility. Zhang Haidi is praiseworthy because the warmth given her by the people did arouse in her a strong sense of social responsibility and a desire to be a useful person in society. She said: "The love I enjoyed brought me hope in life, strengthened my courage to conquer illness, and consolidated my confidence in striving for a happy life."

The concern and nurture provided by our party constitute the basic factor affecting the building of Zhang Haidi's communist outlook on life. Born in our country in the 1950's, Zhang Haidi has been nurtured by our party since

childhood and has grown up under the concern and nurture provided by our party. During the years of turmoil, her family was in adversities, but some communists volunteered to come to her house to give her free medical and acupuncture treatment, regardless of the weather. At the Shanglou production brigade, she was often educated and helped by the party and league organizations. In 1972, she was admitted into the league. In 1975, in the light of her special skill, the county party committee sent her to the hospital to administer acupuncture to patients. In 1981, she was appointed as a regular worker of our state. Over many years, our party organizations have painstakingly looked after her, have always paid attention to helping her mature, and have helped her overcome her own weaknesses and strengthen her conviction in fighting against various difficulties. Whenever she achieved some success or progress in her work or ideology, the party organizations warmly encouraged her to make her deeply feel that like other young people, she was useful to society. All this has made her gradually understand that "the party is the motive force which urges me to advance vigorously." She said: "The party and the people have given me too much warmth. Even if I worked a hundred times harder, I would be unable to fully repay the party's kindness. However, a true fighter for communism must surely not be one who merely repays kindness. He should shoulder responsibility toward the whole world and fight all his life for the complete emancipation of mankind." Having understood this truth, she said: "I just feel that the universe is so immense, and I can see and think clearly. There is now a new motive force to promote my work and studies."

Our party has always paid attention to nurturing the younger generation and has placed our motherland's future and hope on the young generation. In particular, since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the CPC Central Committee has put forth the great task of nurturing a generation of communist new men who have lofty ideals and a high moral standard, who are educated, and who abide by discipline. It has raised the nurturing and educating of youth to the high plane of strategy and has correspondingly done a great deal of work. This is highly advantageous to the healthy growth of the young generation and to the building of their communist outlook on life. However, under this favorable condition, some people still have an erroneous ideology. They make endless demands on our party and the people. When their demands are not satisfied, they begin to complain. Zhang Haidi is noble in that she has always regarded our party's nurturing work and concern as the motive force of her endeavor and progress. She conscientiously consolidates her faith in communism. She expresses her resolution: "If required by our party and the cause of revolution, we will be ready to sacrifice our own lives for our mother--our great party."

Arduous self-cultivation and continuous overcoming of her own weaknesses are important reasons why Zhang Haidi has been able to establish gradually the communist outlook on life. In exploring the road of life, she has encountered many difficulties and frustrations, has lived through some years in depression and perplexity, and had for a time thought of suicide out of despair. However, the spirit of heroes and the beauty of life finally wakened her from perplexity, making her understand that it is absolutely meaningless to die muddleheaded. Despair implies yielding to

frustrations on the road of life and resolving the contradictions of life in a wrong way. She understood that "if one gets bogged down in one's own troubles and misfortunes, one will naturally be liable to depression, perplexity, or even despair." Therefore, she conquered weakness by strength, and cowardice by courage. She "has experienced frustrations without sinking into decadence, and has vigorously risen against trials and difficulties." She has always radiated the full vigor of youth.

The unhealthy tendencies in the party and negative phenomena in society have caused Zhang Haidi to feel disgusted and angry, like many other young people. However, her confidence in the party and her advance on the road of life have not thus been affected. She always believes that our party is open and aboveboard and our society is full of vigor. Young people should not regard life and our party as a complete mess. They should view all this with revolutionary optimism. They should believe that old practices or phenomena will not exist for long, that the party and various quarters of society are paying attention to them and taking effective measures to correct them, and that our party's style of work and social customs will surely change if we all go into action. Moreover, Zhang Haidi in the first place sets a good example herself, adopts a realistic attitude, strives to achieve progress, and study and work with greatly increased confidence. She overcomes her own inertia and refuses to be an "imbecile" in society. She volunteers to do everything necessary for the people. Although she is seriously handicapped, she has not for this reason relaxed the strict demands she sets on herself. She has resolved to be "on the same road as physically normal people," to be a contributor with real ability and knowledge, and to incorporate her happiness and enjoyment in diligent studies and selfless contribution to the people.

The experience of Zhang Haidi's trouble-ridden life tells us that acquiring a correct understanding of life is an arduous process in which one tempers oneself in the practice of studying, working, and living. No one can evade contradictions and frustrations in real life. Such things can either make one become depressed and lose hope, or temper one into a stronger and more mature person. The key question is whether one arduously cultivates oneself. Even if objective conditions are perfect, if one does not make subjective efforts and resolve to transform oneself, a communist outlook on life will ultimately not be established. This point is very important to those young people who lack experience of life, who are not highly educated, and whose personality can still change considerably. Zhang Haidi said: "Everyone will meet difficulties and frustrations on the road of life. When people encounter difficulties, it is natural for them to think and act in negative ways. However, the question is whether you can overcome them. If you can, you are a hero and a strong man in life."

Zhang Haidi still continues to advance in life. However, the path she has taken has provided a road sign which helps hundreds of millions of people, in particular, the young people, to advance vigorously. Stimulated by her example, more and more people will join the powerful current of the times, that of socialist modernizations, and will become communist new men who have lofty ideals and a high moral standard, who are highly educated and abide by discipline.

THEORETICAL WORK MUST SERVE SOCIALIST MODERNIZATION

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 13, 1 Jul 83 pp 28-31

[Editorial]

[Text] The 25th anniversary of the publication of RED FLAG fell on 1 June 1983. Central leading Comrades Deng Xiaoping, Li Xiannian, Chen Yun, Peng Zhen, Xu Xiangqian, Nie Rongzhen, Wang Zhen, and others wrote inscriptions and articles to mark the occasion. These inscriptions and articles have encouraged us and further pointed out the orientation for us so that we can run RED FLAG well. All these inscriptions demonstrate that proletarian revolutionaries attach importance to and show concern for theoretical work. The basic spirit of these inscriptions is that theories should be integrated with practice and that theoretical work must serve socialist modernization. Such a basic spirit is of important guiding significance for the work of theoretical study, theoretical education, and theoretical propaganda. We are willing to work together with comrades on the theoretical front to conscientiously implement the spirit of these inscriptions and continuously enhance the level of theoretical work.

"Theoretical work must serve socialist modernization" is Comrade Deng Xiaoping's inscription. Our theoretical workers should regard this as the demand of our times. This is also an urgent demand set by practice and the great task which the party and people have entrusted to us. Theoretical work is an important aspect of the socialist modernization. Engels regarded theories, politics, and economy as the three forms of struggle carried out by the proletariat. Marx, Engels, and Lenin paid attention to and studied theories all their lives. Their only purpose in doing so was to make theories serve the proletariat which was struggling to free itself from the yoke of capitalism, to emancipate itself, and to realize the great cause of communism. Integrating theories with practice and making theories serve communist practice is also a good tradition of our party's theoretical work. If our party had not been under the leadership of Comrade Mao Zedong to integrate the universal truth of Marxism with the specific practice of the Chinese revolution; if it had not been able to creatively put forth a line, guiding principles and policies suitable to the national conditions in our country; and if it had not been able to use Mao Zedong Thought, which was a product of integrating theory with practice, to train a great number of cadres and arouse the entire Chinese people, it would have been

impossible for us to win victory in the new democratic revolution, and in socialist revolution and construction. It is always a basic starting point and task of our party's theoretical work to study and solve theoretical problems arising in Chinese revolution and construction based on the practical conditions in our country. At the present stage, to integrate theories with practice and make theories serve practice, we should conscientiously inspect and study various practical questions arising in the great practice of the Chinese people who are creating a new situation in the socialist modernization. Under the guidance of the universal truth of Marxism, we should theoretically provide the Chinese with correct answers which are of guiding significance. In other words, we should regularize and systematize a wealth of experience which we have obtained from practice, and make a theoretical summation and exposition. If we fail to accomplish such a basic task, our theoretical work will let the party and people down.

Our country is now in a period of great transformation. We have extensive practice and have accumulated a wealth of experience. Over the past 30 years or so, we have obtained successful experiences and lessons learned from negative experience. We can derive a large quantity of systematic knowledge from them. By making use of theoretical thinking, we can straighten out and sum up a vast amount of scattered experiences and knowledge, so that they will become our systematic understanding of things. Such understanding in return will guide our practice. This is a matter of great significance. Scattered experiences are not theories. Perceptual knowledge can only solve problems of superficial phenomenon, and only theories can solve problems of essential nature. Engels said: "If a nation intends to stand on the highest peak of science, it cannot separate itself from theoretical thinking." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 467)

The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" adopted by the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee has systematically and scientifically summed up our historical experiences of the past 30 years or so. People working in various fields and doing various work should scientifically sum up and theoretically generalize their specific experiences. Our theoretical workers should make contributions in this respect. Experiences we have obtained in recent years since the third plenary session are particularly valuable. The CPC Central Committee is leading the entire party and people throughout the country to bring order out of chaos. Under the new historical conditions, it is again embarking on the path of integrating the universal truth of Marxism with specific practice in China. A series of guiding principles and policies are continuously developing and have been improved and integrated with specific reality. Practice has proved that they are in accord with objective law and suitable to the national conditions in China. At present, the level of our party's understanding of the objective law of socialist construction and the progress of our practice in socialist modernization have obviously exceeded any period since the founding of new China. These are unprecedentedly favorable conditions for our theoretical work, and stricter demands have also been set on it. In

other words, practice has demanded that we conscientiously expound new results gained by our party in both theory and practice since the third plenary session, and make contributions to explaining the importance of upholding and developing Mao Zedong Thought, and that we provide theoretical bases for explaining a series of important principles, guiding principles, and policies worked out by the CPC Central Committee. This is very important work. Only by theoretically having a high degree of understanding of the facts and law on which our party's line, guiding principles, and policies are based, can our understanding be regarded as profound, accurate, and reliable. In this respect, the work of theoretical study, theoretical propaganda, and theoretical education is an important bridge for ideological exchanges between the CPC Central Committee and the broad cadres and people. In the historically changing period when the party puts forth new tasks, guiding principles, and policies, such theoretical exposition, explanation, and propaganda work is particularly important. It is not easy to do such work well. Instead of repeating what the documents have said, we should profoundly and convincingly explain and prove the relevant theoretical and practical problems. We should have certain original views and understanding of them. This demands that our theoretical workers continuously enhance their level of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, and carry out an in-depth study of the problems concerned.

A number of comrades on the theoretical front have neglected the work of theoretical exposition and explanation and the study of practical problems. They think that these are not theoretical work. Such understanding is incorrect. The reason why theories have vitality is because they are closely connected with revolutionary practice. A great number of works and articles by Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Mao Zedong expounded and discussed tasks and tactics of the proletarian political parties within a certain period of time. Can we say that they did not do political work? The present line, guiding principles, and policies of our party are closely connected with the practice of millions upon millions of the masses. They include the summation of the previous practical experiences and guide our present and future practical activities. With regard to the objective bases for formulating line, guiding principles, and policies and the situation, experiences, and problems arising in implementing them, some of them are things in theoretical form which are being tested by practice, some of them are in the process of becoming theories, some of them are semifinished products, and some of them are basic materials for theoretical study. Whatever forms they take, they are indispensable to theoretical study. If we neglect the study of these matters and the work of theoretical discussion and propaganda, our theoretical work will be separated from the present most important and most basic practical activities of the party and people. Under such circumstances, integrating theories with practice is only empty talk.

In whatever fields, theories must satisfy the demands of practice. Theories are formed on the basis of summing up practical experiences. Theories should in turn serve practice, be tested by practice, and develop themselves in practice. If theories are separated from practice, they will become water without a source and trees without roots. They will become

ossified and withered. If we fail to proceed from the present most important reality to study problems which are closely connected with the interests of the greatest majority of people, people will never get interested in or attach importance to theories. In modern or ancient times, in China or elsewhere, all successful theoreticians who have achieved something great link themselves closely with practical life and attach importance to solving problems arising in practice. At a party meeting on theoretical work to discuss ideological guideline, Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "The Marxist ideological and theoretical work cannot be separated from practical politics." He added: "If one separates oneself from politics and fails to study the general political situation and to make an appraisal of the practical development of the revolutionary struggle, it is inconceivable that one will be able to become a Marxist thinker and theoretician." He continued: "We have already said that carrying out an in-depth study of the new situation and new questions arising in the process of realizing the four modernizations in China and providing them with answers which are of great guiding significance will be our ideological and theoretical workers' great contributions to Marxism. This also means that they truly hold high the banner of Mao Zedong Thought." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," pp 165-166)

Building socialism is a new undertaking in the history of mankind. Countries in the world, which take the socialist road, are making progress through exploration. In carrying out socialist modernization in a big country with a population of 1 billion, which is complicated and economically and culturally backward, we will inevitably encounter more difficulties. Naturally, it is more difficult for us to make progress through exploration. Since the third plenary session, we have been summing up historical experience and making explorations for many years. We know more and more about the general picture and main characteristics of Chinese-style socialism. However, this does not mean that we have fully grasped the objective law of socialist modernization in our country. Building socialism with Chinese characteristics is a general topic. To write this great article well, we should profoundly study many general problems and other problems arising in various fields. For example, we should know our national conditions and characteristics in the present stage. In other words, under what particular historical conditions are we carrying out socialist modernization in our country? What particular law will occur under such special historical conditions? Apart from studying this general subject, we should carry out an in-depth study of the special law of development in various fields, departments, and work. This demands that theoretical work continuously keeps abreast with the development of practice, expeditiously sums up practical experiences of the masses and theoretically studies and solves problems arising in practice. Faced with such arduous tasks, we should exert our greatest efforts, fear no hardship, and keep on fighting in spite of all setbacks in order to carry out our study and exploration. This is a glorious task assigned to theoretical workers of our generation by the times. "Fish can freely swim in the boundless sea and birds can swiftly fly in spacious sky." Serving socialist modernization is a vast world where much can be accomplished in theoretical work.

During the period of war of resistance against Japan, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "True, the theoretical level of our party is now somewhat higher than before. But our theoretical front is very much out of harmony with the rich content of the Chinese revolutionary movement, and a comparison of the two shows that the theoretical side is lagging far behind. Generally speaking, our theory cannot as yet keep pace with our revolutionary practice, let alone lead the way as it should. We have not yet raised our rich and varied practice to the proper theoretical plane." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 3, p 771) Of course, our present theoretical level is much more higher than the period of the democratic revolution. However, social practice has also greatly developed. Compared with the content of the social practice of building socialist material and spiritual civilization following the third plenary session, the backwardness of the theoretical front is markedly evident. We should do our best to change such backward situation.

To make theoretical work serve socialist modernization, we should stick to the practice of investigating and studying the actual conditions. This is an important link for implementing the policy of integrating theories with practice. We should admit that in our theoretical contingent, a fairly great number of comrades have a marked weakness of being prone to separating themselves from practice. This is mainly because the work of theoretical study, propaganda, and education which they are doing is separated from the main practical activities and work in the society. Generally speaking, when they observe practical life and work, they only look at the surface of things. If they fail to consciously and constantly carry out investigations and studies and to go deep into practical life and work, to directly acquire perceptual knowledge, their weakness will become more conspicuous. Such weakness should be overcome in accordance with what Comrade Mao Zedong has said. In other words, people who are engaged in theoretical work should study important practical problems and take part in practical work. Comrade Chen Yun said that they should spend 90 percent of their time conducting investigations and studies and 10 percent of their time making policies. As far as theoretical work is concerned, it should also assign investigations and studies a most important position. Only by conscientiously conducting investigations and studies, can our theoretical education and propaganda work be closely linked with the present state of affairs of the practical ideological understanding of the broad masses of cadres and people and provide their questions with answers based on abundant factual data and convincing truth. When we are studying a theoretical issue, carrying out a propaganda work, or even writing an article, if we fail to carry out conscientious investigations and studies, master sufficient materials, and find out the cause and effect of the matter, can we accomplish our tasks well? The answer is no. In particular, when faced with important and new problems and problems for which we lack practical experience and knowledge to handle, we should resolve to carry out investigations and studies.

Theoretical workers should carry out investigations and studies of practical problems in a planned way and integrate the questions for study with practical needs. Practical work departments and units should also pay

attention to theoretical work and provide theoretical workers with necessary conditions so that they can carry out investigations and studies. They should attach importance to the results of investigations and studies and regard them as a basis for improving their work and solving problems. Some comrades are familiar with the situation and have mastered a large quantity of materials, gained a wealth of experience, and acquired perceptual knowledge. However, due to the fact that they are restricted by their theoretical basis and time, they are unable to think deeply, digest and sort out their practical experiences and materials, and turn them into theories. Some comrades describe such a state of affairs as "indigestion," and the situation of some other comrades (who lack sufficient understanding of practical experience and reality) as "malnutrition." To change the above-mentioned situations, we should create conditions for comrades who have practical experiences, so that they can study and conduct research on theories. In the meantime, we should encourage theoretical workers to go deep into the realities of life and conduct investigations and studies. The extent of our theoretical workers' understanding of reality and their in-depth study of it will in turn enrich the contents of theories, improve theoretical propaganda and education, and solve the problems that the contents of our theoretical studies are "outmoded," and that their contents, means, and methods are divorced from reality. This is a fundamental way to improve the style of study and writing.

To study and solve various problems arising in practice, we should uphold the guidance of Marxist theories. Practice over a hundred years in the world has proved that philosophy, political economy, and the theories of scientific socialism established by Marx and Engels are correct and that they develop themselves in practice. They have provided us with a perfect, conscientious, and scientific world outlook and correct stand, views, and methods. When we are studying a new situation and solving new problems, we will go astray and commit mistakes if we violate basic Marxist theories. Of course, taking the universal truth of Marxism as a guide does not mean that we should mechanically copy quotations from Marx's works and seek ready answers. Just as Comrade Deng Xiaoping has stressed, we should comprehensively and accurately take the scientific system of Mao Zedong Thought as our guide. This is a scientific attitude toward Marxist theories. If we regard Marxism as a dogma and fail to proceed from reality to study new problems arising in practice and integrate Marxism with reality, such an attitude is wrong. It is also a wrong attitude to neglect the guiding role of the universal truth of Marxism for studying a new situation and solving new problems or to give up the basic theories of Marxism because of being misled by transient phenomena and immediate interests.

Since the third plenary session, the CPC Central Committee has set a good example for us in upholding and developing Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought in many aspects in light of practical reality in our country. Under the new historical conditions, the newly published "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" has adequately embodied the spirit and substance of upholding Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, and enriching and developing it on the basis of summing up the new experience. We should conscientiously study "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," and use it to arm our minds.

In recent years, in our work of editing RED FLAG, although we have made great efforts to implement the guiding principle of integrating theories with practice, we have not yet done our work well. For example, with regard to studying a new situation, summing up new experiences, answering questions arising in practice, investigating practical conditions, and improving our writing style, the work we have done is far from what the CPC Central Committee and the broad masses of our readers have expected. Encouraged by the spirit of the inscriptions of the central leading comrades and helped and supported by comrades of the whole party, we are determined to effectively solve these problems and do our best to open a new situation in the work of RED FLAG.

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REFORM IS SELF-PERFECTION OF THE SOCIALIST SYSTEM

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[Article by Teng Wensheng [3326 2429 3932] and Jia Chunfeng [6328 2504 1496]]

[Text] In his "Government Work Report" to the First Session of the Sixth National People's Congress, Premier Zhao Ziyang gave a far-reaching explanation of reform of the economic system, its major tasks, and its fundamental demands. It is extremely important for ensuring the smooth implementation of all reform work that we studiously study these explanations and fully understand the directives outlined by the party Central Committee and the State Council since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC National Congress concerning reform of the economic and political systems, and that we gain further clarification of the position and role of reform within socialist social development in ideological and theoretical terms, as well as the socio-historical reasons for reform and the nature and aims of reform.

I

The socialist society is a new type of social system. It is not stagnant, but is constantly moving forward and developing according to its own laws. In 1890, in a letter replying to questions about socialism from Otto Bo-ni-kê [0130 1441 0344]. Engels wrote: "I believe that the so-called 'socialist society' is not an unchangeable thing. Rather, it should, as with any other social system, be seen as a frequently changing and reforming society." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 37, p 443) This tells us then that we must firmly use the developmental concepts of dialectical materialism in handling the socialist society and that furthermore we should firmly establish a scientific guiding ideology which states that the socialist society needs regular reform.

The establishment of the fundamental economic and political systems of socialism only mark the beginning of socialist society's historic process of development on its own foundations. The socialist system cannot be perfect as soon as it appears. It must go through long developmental process from immaturity to maturity and from imperfection to perfection. This process from immaturity to maturity and from imperfection to perfection provides enlightenment from practical experiences and is gradually achieved

through reforms which conform to the actual situation and which mutually interlink. Only through these reforms and by accurately solving concrete questions and contradictions within the management systems of the economy, politics, and culture, and by wiping out all styles and methods of management which do not conform with the demands of social progress, can we ensure that these reforms constantly correspond with and promote the social productive forces and development in various other areas. Thus, reform represents the basic means and the necessary style of bringing the socialist system closer to perfection and also bringing about deep and lasting changes and all-round development in social life. This then is the important position and role of reform in the development of the socialist society.

Looking at the concrete practice of reform work in China and some other socialist countries and by examining the content, extent, and style of reform, it is possible to divide it into two basic situations. One is the implementation of fairly comprehensive and systematic reform to the economic and political systems, working hard to overcome all sorts of disadvantages which correspond to neither the requirements of economic and social development nor to the fundamental principles of socialism, and creating new economic and political systems even more suited to the reality of socialist construction. The other is carrying out readjustments and reform to certain weak and backward links within the economic and political systems as the productive forces develop and various other conditions change. Thus as Lenin said: "In terms of developing the productive forces and culture, every step forward and upward that we take must at the same time improve and remold our soviet system." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 33, p 89) The former of the two types of reform requires a comparatively concentrated period of time to implement, while the latter requires regular implementation. At the moment the reform work that we are developing falls mainly into the former of the two categories. These reforms affect all areas of the state and social life. The situation is complex and the tasks formidable. In order steadfastly and effectively to implement these reforms we must first have a comprehensive and scientific understanding of the reasons for and the basis of these reforms and their implementation.

II

The establishment and development of China's socialist system now has a history of over 20 years. Practice has proven that the democratic dictatorship of the people, the system of public ownership of the means of production, the planned development of the national economy and various other areas, distribution according to work, and all other parts of the fundamental socialist political and economic systems all correspond with the basic interests of all nationalities in China and as such have already begun to effectively illustrate their enormous superiority and powerful life strength. In addition, practice has proven that certain concrete management, economic, and political systems that we originally organized have not fully reflected and embodied the demands of the basic socialist system, and that within them there are still many problems and shortcomings which are

hampering the expression of the superiority of socialism. As far as the economic system is concerned, the structure of economic styles has been irrational, while management methods have been too unitary. Management powers have been overcentralized, creating barriers between various levels and regions. As far as distribution is concerned, "everyone eating from the large rice bowl" has produced serious egalitarianism. In terms of the political system, the party and the government have not been split, the democratic system has been incomplete, and the legal system is somewhat lacking. There has been massive overstaffing in organizations while workers' responsibilities are unclear. There has been an overcentralization of power within the leadership system and patriarchy has been common. These problems and shortcomings have mainly come about as a result of the following historical reasons.

1. As a result of various old ways of thinking in the former class society, as well as old customs and influences which are still widely found within our social life, it is inevitable that they will be reflected within the process of construction of our new system. China has seen over 2,000 years of feudal society and more than 100 years of semicolonial and semifeudal society. Our socialist system was built on this kind of historic basis. Not only did this historic base leave behind many backward economic and cultural conditions, it also left thick feudal ideology and many petty bourgeois traditions and customs. The country lacked a democratic tradition, the experience to organize large-scale socialized production and a basis for science and technology. This produced many difficulties for the development of China's socialist system and socialist cause. Because of the relative independence of old ways of thinking and old customs, they could not be wiped out as soon as the old political and economic systems were overthrown. Inevitably they influenced and corrupted the thinking of the people in many different ways, and by means of this influence and corruption they have surfaced in the new system. The egalitarianism, overconcentration of power, and patriarchy which exist as problems in the economic and political systems, as well as certain officious management and administration methods in work, agriculture, and commerce, are all closely linked to the vestigial influences of feudalism and the petty bourgeoisie. In order to perfect and complete our economic and political systems we must maintain a constant struggle and work hard to eradicate the influences of feudalist, capitalist, and all other nonproletarian ways of thinking.

2. In the process of learning from foreign countries' experiences about how to construct socialism during the early years of the founding of new China, we irrationally imported some management systems and management methods which were not suitable for the situation in China. After the establishment of new China we were very quick to carry out socialist remolding of the system of private ownership of the means of production and we smoothly implemented the socialist system. However, at that time the party's and the people's theoretical and ideological preparations for the construction of socialism were lacking. Everyone lacked experience in how to carry out the concrete organization and management of the various areas of socialism in a country which had extremely backward productive

forces, a huge population--of which peasants made up the majority--and enormous imbalances in economic and cultural development from region to region. In view of this situation it was absolutely vital that we give attention to learning from, and borrowing from, the experiences of other countries and that we accurately learn and understand some things of benefit to us. However, during our study some indiscriminate borrowing from abroad occurred due to a lack of systematic research into the situation in China, and due also to a lack of clear understanding of China. Let us take the economic system as an example. The economic system was greatly influenced by ideas from abroad. Planned management powers were overconcentrated and unified and there was a disregard for the use of the law of value and the auxiliary role of market adjustments, thus creating problems of overunification in enterprises and stagnation in management and preventing the economic activities of enterprises from maintaining the requisite vitality. As far as the management and administration of rural collective economies was concerned, needs and capabilities were disregarded and centralized management and centralized labor were implemented without exception, along with methods of distribution such as the work day system and the work point system. The result of this was that such problems as "the issuing of confused orders," "the swarm of bees" and "the bowl of rice" arose, all of which seriously restricted the working enthusiasm of the peasants and hindered production development in agriculture. These lessons from history illustrate very clearly that when learning from other countries it is vital to remain firm within one's own reality and to accurately and selectively absorb things. The concrete conditions and situations in each country are different and hence in establishing socialism in practice it is vital that one work hard to establish and develop economic and political systems characteristic of one's own country, according to the concrete situation in terms of socialist construction in one's own country, and also in line with the fundamental principles of scientific socialism. These reforms that we are carrying out now are to ensure that we advance toward this aim.

3. When using the economic and political construction experiences based on a period of democratic revolution, we should not have continued to use methods and actions which were useful and suitable under conditions of revolutionary war but which are not suitable to socialist construction. Here we can take the party leadership system as an example to illustrate the problems brought about by continued use of unsuitable methods and actions. During the period of democratic revolution, the central task of the party was to lead the revolutionary war, the army was mainly for fighting while the government was mainly for supporting the front and thus the tasks of the party, government and army were fairly concentrated and similar. Under those historical conditions it was absolutely vital and correct that the party adopt a system of centralized leadership and this helped unify commands, centralized strength, and maintain victories for the revolutionary war. However, after the founding of modern China the situation became vastly different. Throughout the whole country various organizations dealing with state power, the law, and administration, as well as various other social organizations were set up under the party leadership and there were so many tasks involved with socialist

construction that the situation was extremely complex. On the basis of the demands of these new tasks and these new historical conditions we should have quickly altered the leadership system of the party and the style of leadership as well as suitable handling relations between the party and the government and other social organizations while clearly defining the extent of every person's powers. However, for a great many years we did not do this and instead we continued to adhere to the party's system of centralized leadership. What is more this system of leadership became stronger and stronger. As a result power became overconcentrated in various levels of the party committee, there was no separation between the party and the government and the party ended up representing the government. All of this simply increased bureaucracy and individual arbitrary decision taking and thus prevented effective leadership of the party. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the party central authorities have studiously assimilated lessons in this area and have clearly pointed out that party leadership is mainly ideological, political, and organizational leadership and that this should not include administration work in the government and in enterprises nor production commands. Furthermore the party has brought up a series of measures for implementing a division between party and government work and these represent an important reform in the party leadership system and the political system.

4. Toward the end of the 1950's, some things emerged which were divorced from the actual level of China's productive forces and the developmental laws of socialism and which were violations of the principles of socialism. These things occurred under the guidance of "leftist" ideologies which were emerging at that time and were very evident in the economic and political systems. As far as the economic system was concerned there was, in terms of economic styles, a denial of the necessity which had existed for many years for carrying out diversified economy which would include the state economy, collective economies, and to a certain extent, individual worker economies, all on the premise of the absolute superiority of the system of public ownership. Thus, under ideological control which included such beliefs that the bigger the scale of a work unit under collective ownership the better and the greater the extent of public ownership the better, objective conditions were overstepped and there was a simple struggle to achieve the system of public ownership and the system of ownership by all the people. As far as relations between commodities and money were concerned, there was no acceptance of the position and role they should have had within the development of the socialist economy and within economic management. Thus by the time of the "Cultural Revolution" they were referred to as "capitalist factors" and were criticized. This was absolutely contrary to objective reality. It should be admitted that commodity-money relations are something that socialism has inherited from former social setups but they have already undergone remolding under socialist conditions and they are mutually linked with the system of public ownership, becoming a vital factor within socialist economic relations. The necessity of their existence and development stems from the developmental process of the socialist system of public ownership itself, because the system of public ownership requires commodity exchange in order that

the state economy, collective economies, and individual worker economies may be linked and yet maintain their individual and relative independence. Thus the development of commodity exchange as well as the money relations linked to it are an indispensable part of the developmental process of the socialist economy. As far as economic management was concerned, there was sole reliance on administrative means to manage the various areas of economic activity and thus the use of economic means and economic levers was severely ignored. This led to a lack of division between enterprises and government and the emergence of many weak links within economic management. As far as the system of distribution was concerned, a distortion of the meaning behind "capitalist class powers," on which Marx wrote in his "Critique of Gotha's Program," meant that it was believed to have capitalist attributes and thus it was believed that there should be restrictions and criticisms made of the principle of distribution according to labor. This was a denial of the socialist nature of the principle of distribution according to labor and a refusal to admit that it was a realization of the system of public ownership of the means of production, and was a fundamental principle of individual consumer product distribution in the socialist period of history. Instead, what was in fact egalitarianism, involving one portion of people gratuitously possessing the work of another portion of people, was considered as a manifestation of the superiority of socialism and social equality, and was even seen as "the shoots of communism," and was thus promoted and advocated, with the result that the system of distribution according to work was severely damaged. The perniciousness and problems created by these errors have now come to be very well appreciated by the people as a result of the recent years of restoration of order out of chaos.

The above facts illustrate that the policies carried out by the party and the government concerning overall reforms to the economic and political systems have a strong historical basis and that they correspond to the demands of social development and the basic interests of the people and hence that they are completely accurate and correct. By losing no time in implementing these reforms we will not only consolidate the victories we have already won in restoring order out of chaos as far as the systems are concerned, but in addition this glorious practice will, inevitably, on the basis of absorbing the lessons of historical experience, result in a more intimate integration of the basic principles of Marxism with the concrete reality of China's socialist modernized construction, and thus the present problems and shortcomings which exist in our economic and political systems will be eradicated and from these systems will increasingly emerge a fresh Chinese character.

III

In his "Government Work Report," Premier Zhao Ziyang gave a clear analysis and judgment on the nature and aims of reform of the various systems in China. He said: "This reform is a revolution, but of course it is not a fundamental change in the social system and must not rock nor depart from the socialist system. Rather it represents self-improvement and self-perfection on the basis of socialism itself. This kind of self-improvement

and self-perfection relies on the strength of the socialist system itself and depends on conscious implementation through the practice of our 1 billion people under the leadership of the party and the state and under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Reform will bring about a continuous consolidation and development of the basic socialist system and will thus result in the gradual perfection and ripening of every concrete system within the overall socialist system, promoting the smooth forward development of the social productive forces." During the process of system reform we must fully understand and completely grasp this nature and these aims of reform, for this is the key to guaranteeing that reform work continues along a healthy path of development.

If reform is a revolution we should, then, carry out this work full of revolutionary spirit and with a high degree of revolutionary responsibility and we should oppose any kind of ideology or custom which illustrates a tendency to stick to the old paths. All those links within relations of production which practice has already proven to be unsuitable for the development of the productive forces and all those links within the superstructure which are unsuitable for the economic foundation should be readjusted and reformed so that our economic and political systems correspond with the requirements of the new historical tasks. We have said that reform is a revolution and what is more it is a very penetrating revolution in terms of its significance in solving the contradictions which exist between the relations of production and the productive forces, and between the superstructure and the economic base and the changes that it brings about in various areas of the relations of production and the superstructure. However, we must understand that this revolution is socially conditioned and is a revolution during a time of peaceful development. It is a revolution which is different from the revolution before the overthrow of the exploiting system and this revolution is not a question of "one class overthrowing another class" nor is it to be achieved through fierce class opposition and conflict. Instead, this revolution is to be carried out through the socialist system itself, with leadership, in specific steps and in a specific order. It is a gradual, historic process of quantitative change, including some partial qualitative change within the developmental course of the socialist system itself. Thus it is vital that we clarify the boundaries in theoretical and practical terms between this revolution and the former so-called continuous revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat which appeared under the guidance of "leftist" thinking. Any behavior which goes under the name of revolution and adopts some style or other to rock or to destroy the socialist system is totally unacceptable and we must remain alert and on guard to prevent the emergence of this kind of phenomenon.

Since reform is self-improvement and self-perfection of the socialist system it is like any other social development under socialist conditions and is achieved through overcoming difficulties and solving contradictions. To a very great extent the question of whether or not reform develops smoothly and whether or not the steps involved can be speeded up depends on the contradictions which already exist and which emerge during the process of reform, and the question of primary importance is whether or not

various contradictions in concrete relations of interest can be suitably solved. No matter whether we are talking about reforms in the economic system or in the political system, in the final analysis it is the relations of interest that must be coordinated, especially the relations of interest between the state, the collective, and the individual, and the correct form of integrating these state interests, collective interests, and individual interests must be sought and clearly outlined. In economic terms all reform measures, including all methods of distributing the national revenue and all styles of the management responsibility system, must ensure that the enterprises' and the workers' incomes constantly increase, and these measures and styles must also ensure that the state financial revenue also constantly increases while the proportion of increase of the latter should be greater than that of the former. If the state lacks sufficient financial power then it cannot guarantee the overall implementation of the state plans and the party's principles and policies and thus guarantees of the fundamental interests of the people will also be lost. The result of reform should be to provide enterprises with energy and vigor, so they develop their production, reduce production costs, and enhance their overall economic interest for the benefit of the collective and of individual laborers, while not permitting the squeezing of state interests or damage to the consumers' interests. The only correct yardstick by which we can measure the rational limits of each work unit's collective interests and individual interests is by acknowledging the superior position of state interests. During reform we must strengthen ideological and political education so that the cadres and the masses can successfully realize collective and individual interests on the premise of consciously preserving state interests. All basic signs of counterrevolution and all phenomena which damage and destroy the state's interests must be firmly rectified. Only in this way can we ensure that reform work is of benefit to the prosperity of the nation and is of benefit to the happiness and prosperity of the people.

Reform is like other historical activities and revolutionary practice and it demands that we fully exploit the historical drive and creativity of the masses. The masses are the main core of practice and knowledge. Every new experience and new thing which corresponds with objective reality and which possesses a strong life force is, in the final analysis, created as a result of the masses expressing their intelligence and wisdom in practice. Of course every new creation by the masses is not accomplished in one move, it often needs to undergo a process of gradual deepening in terms of knowledge and multiple probing and testing in terms of practice. Reform of systems affects every area of economic, political, and social life and it is an extremely complex thing. Whatever needs to be and can be tested should be tested among the masses. The social significance of this kind of testing lies in the fact that assessing and testing all methods and actions and selecting and perfecting and promoting those things which have been proved to be rational and correct while rejecting and blocking those erroneous things which have been proved to be irrational allows us to avoid taking dangerous and twisting roads and allows us to avoid unnecessary damage. Because the actual situation of every item of reform of the economic and political systems, as well as the concrete conditions and various problems

needing to be solved in these reforms are all different, the actual steps, methods, and styles which these reforms will adopt will be diversified and not all the same. Reform in every sphere and every area must begin from the concrete situation in that sphere or area and such reform must rely on the masses in that sphere or area carrying out arduous and creative work to produce scientific styles of management and management systems which have undergone practical experimentation. This creative work is not mutually exchangeable and one can only absorb those parts of another sphere's or another area's reform experiences which are in common with one's own, while one should on no account carry out unanalytic and indiscriminate borrowing of entire setups. In his "Government Work Report," Premier Zhao Ziyang took agricultural reform and urban industrial and commercial reform as examples and gave us a very clear explanation of them. It is fully to be believed that under the unified leadership of the party and the government, as long as we fully respect and actively support all new creations among the masses which fully correspond with the nature and aims of reform and which fully correspond with the direction of reform, while at the same time preventing the spontaneous emergence of negative phenomena and quickly researching and solving the new problems and new situations thrown up during the process of reform, that reform of our economic system and our political system will without doubt be able to quicken its steps forward.

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EARNESTLY CORRECT THE TENDENCY OF TURNING WORKS OF LITERATURE AND ART INTO COMMODITIES

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[Article by Jiao Yongfu [3542 0516 1133]]

[Text] In recent years, in the field of literature and art, the question of opposing the tendency of turning literary and art works into commodities has been repeatedly put forth. However, people have not been adequately alerted to, and have not adequately paid attention to, the existence of this tendency and its harmful effects, and there has been a lack of effective measures for correcting this tendency. Therefore, this tendency has become conspicuous from time to time, and is becoming increasingly more serious. If it is allowed to prevail, our socialist literature and art may descend from the high political and moral plane which it should attain, may decline in ideological and art strength, and may lose its realistic and historic luster. In his government work report presented at the First Session of the Sixth NPC, Premier Zhao Ziyang pointed out the seriousness of this problem. He said: "While continuing to overcome 'left' errors, we must constantly watch out for the tendency of some works toward crass commercialism regardless of the social consequences; this has already appeared and had a pernicious influence. We should adopt effective measures to rectify this tendency." To promote the further development and prosperity of our country's socialist literature and art, we should conscientiously handle and resolve this question.

I

Undoubtedly, under normal circumstances, works of our socialist literature and art are circulated in the form of commodities. However, the basic aim of producing socialist literature and art is to influence people's minds by means of communist ideology, and not to earn money. Recently, many readers, writers, and audiences of various localities have written to newspapers, magazines, and various departments concerned, to disclose and criticize some cultural and artistic workers' practices of copying, plagiarizing, and encroaching on the fruits of other people's creative work. They also have disclosed and criticized the erroneous practice of issuing publications and giving performances for profit-making. They have solemnly pointed out that these phenomena represent a retrogression of, and

disgrace to, literature and art. I think these comments are not extreme views. Actually, they are very appropriate.

The basic aim of those who turn literary and art works into commodities is to strive for money and material benefits. Under normal circumstances, one of their frequently used methods is vulgarization, which means that in creative work or performing, they wildly create nonsensical works which are divorced from reality, catering to the tastes of certain readers or audiences by weird plots or exciting depictions; or, without gearing their works to the needs of development of the plots, they depict scenes of debauchery, merry singing and graceful dancing, foreign scenery, foreign sentimentalism, and so on, to attract audiences; or, without adhering to the intension of the works, without thoroughly studying and understanding the content of the musical programs, and without giving their works conscientious artistic treatment, they arouse the audiences' sensual excitement by means of various kinds of unhealthy sentimentalism or provocative performing movements, thus turning potentially good programs into frivolous ones.

It should be pointed out that vulgarization can only cater to some people's vulgar interests, and cannot beautify people's souls or bring about a spiritual uplift. The progress of human spiritual civilization involves using healthy and lofty spiritual forces--including rational, moral, and artistic forces--to continuously overcome backward ideologies and vulgar interests. The feudal landlord classes and the bourgeoisie often use various kinds of vulgar and base stuff to stimulate and cater to people's varied vulgar interests, so as to lull and sap people's willpower and consolidate their rule. Our socialist literature and art has the responsibility to oppose feudal or capitalist ideologies. Therefore, we must not yield to people's backward ideologies and vulgar interests, but must overcome and transform them by means of lofty ideals, morals, sentiments, and aesthetic ideas. Only thus can our cultural and artistic work make contributions, as it should, to the building of socialist spiritual civilization. On the other hand, the turning of literary and art works into commodities, characterized by vulgarization, disrupts the building of socialist spiritual civilization, and is consequently also a disruptive force in the building of socialist material civilization.

In a certain sense, when a literary or art worker is driven by pecuniary desires, and purposefully uses vulgar things to cater to the audiences' or readers' vulgar interests, he degenerates into a merchant intent on profit-making alone or a cultural broker. In expounding the antagonism between capitalist production and certain sectors of spiritual production, such as literature, art, and poetry, Marx said: "Even the loftiest categories of spiritual production have to be depicted, and misinterpreted, as the direct production of material wealth, before they can be acknowledged or deemed pardonable by the bourgeoisie." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 26, Part 1, p 298) In our socialist society, some of our literary and art workers also treat literary and art activities, which are the loftiest categories of spiritual production, as a direct production of material wealth, and exploit them as such. This kind of conduct will

inevitably seriously spoil literature and art, and tarnish a literary or art worker's character.

Once cultural and artistic products are turned into commodities, the socialist literary and art workers' sense of responsibility and mission, and their sincerity, zeal and fervor, which are essential to literary and art activities, will inevitably greatly diminish, or even vanish. A report describes a series of performances given in this year's Spring Festival: "Many guest actors and actresses came and went in a hurry. They went on stage to perform without knowing their music or rehearsing. Some film actors, in reenacting their roles in movies in which they have appeared, deviated from the set background. For example, they sometimes pulled at the waist of their trousers, grimaced, and so on. The spectators were annoyed by such scenes. Some film actors really had nothing particular to perform, so they just sang songs despite their not so sweet voices, improvised some petty tricks, or recited poetry. A comic dialogue performer had to give many performances as a 'guest,' so he performed short pieces as stopgaps. Moreover, on stage, he often looked at his watch to see how much time he had before his next performance. A vocalist sang only six pre-set songs and refused to sing any additional ones despite the audiences' loud acclaim. The masses said that he sang one song for 10 yuan, or six for 60 yuan." Such performances were devoid of creation or appreciation of beauty, or emotional exchanges between the artists and the audiences. There was no relationship between them except an insensitive "cash transaction."

Thus, once an art worker regards his artistic activities as a means of making money, money becomes a force which makes him confound beauty and ugliness. In the first place, his own beauty and ugliness are insensitively confounded. Further development causes his artistic taste and aesthetic criteria to be seriously corrupted, so that he is further driven to confound the beauty and ugliness of the world. Shakespeare indignantly cursed "the turning of black into white, ugliness into beauty, wrong into right, baseness into nobleness, elderly people into youth, and cowards into brave people." Such horrible reversals could appear in our artistic creation. The force of money would induce art workers to stop seriously thinking about major historical and real-life issues, stop conscientiously exploring many complicated phenomena in society and in life, and stop pursuing artistic beauty. Even the basic love of art would be completely destroyed. If art workers considered the value of art works from the monetary viewpoint alone, and if they produced and performed only what is profitable, then, certain categories of art, even including those of great art value, would be abandoned owing to little or no profitability. Then, the floral garden of socialist art would not be fully developed and would lay in waste. All serious, patriotic and revolutionary writers and artists should naturally denounce and resist this tendency.

II

The turning of literary and art works into commodities is not something new, but is an "ancient" malady. Wherever capital has appeared, capitalists

have tried their best to exploit all spiritual products created by writers and artists as a means of extorting profit. However, even in those societies where money was powerful enough to set gods to work, so to speak, only some of the writers and artists could be bribed with crumbs from the capitalists' table and degenerated into speculating literary and art merchants. However, those noble writers and artists who had spiritual pursuits and artistic aspirations of their own invariably lived in poverty, adhered to their artistic integrity, and were not swayed by money. Aside from leaving great art works to later generations, they also left an example of lofty character, becoming models for educating later generations.

In the dark age of old China, in the dazzling world with many myriad temptations under Kuomintang rule, the literary and art workers of our party and the vast numbers of other progressive literary and art workers did not wildly create nonsensical works for making money, even though they had to "sell literary works to eke out a living" or "give artistic performances to make a living." In fact, disregarding the tortures of poverty, they persisted in clearing the miasma and pernicious atmosphere in old society by means of their literary works used as a combating tool, or voicing social injustices and leading people to wage struggles by means of their loud, clear, and plaintive songs. The people had highly appraised their noble style and brilliant integrity. It is extremely regrettable that a minority of our cultural and art workers now do things which, in the past, progressive literary and art workers with noble sentiments disdained to do.

The emergence of the tendency of turning literary and art works into commodities is due to complicated social and historical reasons. During the 10 years of internal disorder, for one thing, the cultural needs of the broad masses of people were not basically satisfied; and for another thing, too many people in artistic organizations had too little work to do, and actors had few opportunities to perform. Since the smashing of the "gang of four," under the spiritual guidance of bringing order out of chaos and freeing ourselves from old ideas, literary and artistic work has seen unprecedented prosperity. This is a highly gratifying phenomenon. However, because guiding ideology, operation and management have not kept pace with the progress, and because of other reasons, some errors have appeared. For example, initially, in our capital city, some newspapers, magazines, and public recreation centers, out of the good intention to enliven literature and art and to promote new performers, organized some "new stars, new talents" performances and other forms of grand performances. Soon afterward, these forms of performances began to prevail in other localities. Because of confusion in management, the distribution of income from performances has not been clearly prescribed, and private distribution of income within some artistic organizations has not been opportunely stopped, resulting in ideological confusion. To raise funds for issuing bonuses to their own workers, some units which have nothing to do with literature and art have been keen to establish links with theater troupes or individual actors and actresses to piece together those types of performances aimed at "reaping a profit." These phenomena have promoted

the development of the tendency of turning literary and art works into commodities.

Some people mistake vulgarization as satisfying the needs of the masses. The discontinuation of aesthetic education during the 10 years of internal disorder caused some young audiences to lack a lofty artistic taste, and to be unable to distinguish between beauty and ugliness, fragrance, and odor. Our socialist literature and art should help offset this grave consequence by means of healthy and lofty art works, and must never cater to the vulgar interests of some people. The needs of the masses should be concretely analyzed. Socialist literature and art should not, and must not, indiscriminately satisfy all the needs of the masses. Only the needs for proper entertainment and lofty aesthetic pursuits should be satisfied.

Another view holds that opposing the turning of literary and art works into commodities implies advocating continued practicing of egalitarianism and "eating out of the big pot." This is of course a tremendous misunderstanding. Marx always acknowledged mental work to be a complicated type of work. He advocated that remuneration for mental work should differ from that for manual work. In our reform, our opposition to egalitarianism in distribution is a concrete reflection of what Marx advocated. In the realm of literature and art, we do not object to a higher remuneration for artists on account of their arduous creative work. However, social effects must be considered as the prerequisite for giving remuneration for their work. In their own activities, literary and art workers must, in the first place, consider social effects. The current problem precisely lies in the fact that, in their creative or performing activities, some literary and art workers substitute inferior things for good things, perfunctorily cater to the audiences' needs for proper entertainment and lofty aesthetic pursuits by rough, slipshod production and irresponsible performances, and thus have caused the audiences' dissatisfaction. Opposing and checking the tendency of turning literary and art works into commodities is an urgent demand of the vast numbers of audiences, and is a problem which we must solve in developing literary and art undertakings.

III

Socialist literature and art should be governed by clear-cut political, artistic, and economic principles. The political principle is that socialist literature and art must serve the people and socialism. The artistic principle governing socialist literature and art is that a hundred flowers must be allowed to blossom, a hundred schools of thought must be allowed to contend; the old must be weeded through to bring forth the new; the past must be made to serve the present, foreign things must be made to serve China; and so on. In actual work, we have also formulated some economic principles and drawn up economic policies according to these principles. For example, there is a set of methods whereby the state gives financial aid to literary and art units. These methods have positive effects on the implementation of the political and artistic principles governing socialist literature and art. However, over many years in the past, our study of economic problems in literary and art work has been

inadequate, and there are many problems. For example, the unchecked expansion and increase of artistic organizations has increased the state's financial burden. While our national economy has not yet basically improved and the state cannot yet immediately provide larger funds to subsidize artistic organizations, the economic problems within the artistic organizations, principally the defects of egalitarianism in distribution, "eating out of the big pot," and so on, have become prominent. Over the past few years, to solve these problems and to reduce the state's burden, many artistic organizations have strived to earn a higher income and to use the principle of material incentive as a means of mobilizing the enthusiasm of performers and staff members. Naturally, their aspiration and practice are irreproachable. However, some organizations have not endeavored to achieve unity of politics, art, and economics. They have only paid attention to increasing income, without vigorously grasping the upgrading of artistic quality. Consequently, politics and art have been undermined. Some organizations or individuals have even relied on vulgarization or dishonest practices to make money. It is not difficult to see that a satisfactory handling of the relationship between politics, art, and economics is an important condition for overcoming the tendency of turning literary and art work into commodities, and for safeguarding the healthy development of socialist literature and art.

Generally speaking, the social value of literary and art works cannot be measured by economic results. In one sense, the social effects and economic results of literary and art works are unified and in line with each other; but in another sense, they are not unified or in line with each other. For example, the "Spring Snow," a melody of the elite in ancient China, is "not popular" because it is a "highbrow" melody. However, we must not deny its "high value" just because it is "not popular," and we must not thus give a lower remuneration to art workers who perform such highbrow works of art. On the other hand, under certain specific conditions, decadent songs may be very popular and highly lucrative. However, we must not give their singers a higher remuneration. To link the art workers' material interests directly to the results of their organizations' operation brings about both positive efforts and negative effects. If this method is not properly used, it will easily help create a hotbed for the tendency of turning literary and art works into commodities. The trial reform of our literature and art systems, which is being carried out by literature and art organizations, should definitely not be aimed at merely increasing the income of literature and art units and their workers. The central task of this reform is to upgrade the quality of literary and art works in the first place. Naturally, without healthy art works which are beneficial to, and welcomed by, the people, there will not be any good social effects, and moreover, ultimately there will not be any good economic results. Some theatrical organizations only strive to give many performances in order to earn a high income. However, because of poor artistic quality, their audiences have decreased. This is a good example. To upgrade the quality of literary and art works, it is far from adequate to apply the principle of material incentive. We must, in the first place, satisfactorily apply the political and artistic principles governing socialist literature and art. Under the precondition of upholding the political and artistic principles governing socialist literature and art, we should strive for better economic results and achieve the unity of politics, art, and economics.

EXPLANATIONS OF SEVERAL IMPORTANT NOTIONS IN 'SELECTED WORKS OF DENG XIAOPING'

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[Article by the RED FLAG Theoretical Education Editorial Office; passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] Foreword

The "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" features important speeches and talks delivered by Comrade Deng Xiaoping during the period from 1975 through 1982, the year the 12th CPC National Congress was convened. During those extraordinary years, with a proletarian revolutionary's great boldness of vision and brilliant talent, Comrade Deng Xiaoping raised and expounded many important questions of principle concerning the CPC and the state and thus made great contributions in realizing the bringing of order out of chaos in our guiding ideology and in reaffirming and further improving the party's ideological, political, and organizational lines and its principles and policies in all fields of endeavor. The works of Comrade Deng Xiaoping are examples of applying the stand, viewpoint, and method of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought in summing up historical experience under new historical conditions and of concentrating the party's collective wisdom on correctly solving the new problems arising in China's socialist revolution and construction. Upholding and developing Mao Zedong Thought, the numerous important notions in the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" are not only of imperishable historic significance, but also of great importance in guiding China's socialist construction at present and in the future. Therefore, all of our cadres and, in particular, leading cadres at various levels must regard the works as an obligatory book and conscientiously study them.

In studying the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," the most basic method is to integrate theory with practice. Our comrades in all trades and professions must, on the basis of serious study, acquire a deeper understanding of the works by combining the realities of their own ideology with those of their own work. First of all, they must study the works by relating their own understanding of the line, principles, and policies worked out since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee to their implementation so as to further clarify their confused ideas, to enhance

their level of political consciousness, and to maintain better congruity with the CPC Central Committee in terms of politics. Second, they must study the works in the light of the four modernizations program and the ongoing reforms so as to further emancipate their minds, to sum up experience, and to reform, in light of China's national condition, all outmoded conventions and old institutions unsuited to the requirements of the four modernizations program and to explore the path of socialism with features peculiar to China. Third, they must regard the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" as teaching material in conducting education in communist ideology and as a sharp weapon in opposing all kinds of erroneous ideas in connection with the augmentation of the building of a socialist spiritual civilization. Fourth, they must, in the light of the party consolidation which is about to start, take the expositions in the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" concerning party building as a guide, study how to strengthen the party ideologically and organizationally and how to persevere in and improve party leadership, and make mental preparations for party consolidation.

To coordinate with this study, we have organized and compiled this guidance material entitled "Explanations of Several Important Notions in the 'Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping,'" material which includes the following 12 aspects: 1) On Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought; 2) on the ideological line; 3) on the political lines; 4) on the organizational line; 5) on the socialist economic construction; 6) on socialist spiritual civilization; 7) on science, education, and intellectuals; 8) on literature and art; 9) on democracy, legality, and class struggle; 10) on the united front; 11) on army building; and 12) on party building. Brief explanations are available for some selected notions in every aspect, totaling 50 clauses and subclauses, some of which are written by the comrades of the departments concerned outside the general office of RED FLAG at our invitation. Handicapped by our inadequate understanding, there may be some improprieties in this guidance material in terms of the choice of subjects and of elucidation. Therefore, this guidance material is for your reference only in study.

I. On Comrade Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought

1. /"We must confirm Comrade Mao Zedong's historical role."/ ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 261)

Confirming Comrade Mao Zedong's historical role is an important question which has a bearing on the overall situation of the party's cause. Comrade Deng Xiaoping's repeated statement on this question has its own incisive historical background and a distinct, unmistakable aim.

During the 10 years of internal disorder, for the sake of usurping the leadership of the CPC, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" did their utmost to go in for modern fetishes and superstitions. They abandoned the Marxist-Leninist theories on the interrelations of the leaders, political parties, classes, and the masses and, by taking advantage of the love and esteem, as well as respect, of the broad masses of the people toward

Comrade Mao Zedong, they propagated historical idealism, regarded Comrade Mao Zedong as a sort of genius rarely seen in several hundred years of world history and in the Chinese history of several thousand years, and attributed all credit to Comrade Mao Zedong alone. They denied that a leader could also probably make mistakes and even regarded the erroneous theory of continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat which Comrade Mao Zedong advanced in his later years as the third milestone in the history of development of Marxism. These erroneous practices seriously distorted the image of a proletarian leader, damaged the party's democratic centralism and the principles of collective leadership, and thus made an extremely bad impression on the political life of the party and the state.

After the smashing of the "gang of four," the then principal leader of the CPC Central Committee advanced the "two whatevers" policy and continued to foster the personality cult around himself rather than enthusiastically eliminating this extremely bad influence. The 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee criticized the "two whatevers" policy, conducted discussions on the criterion of truth, and began to correct the "leftist" mistakes of the past, including the mistakes made by Comrade Mao Zedong in his later years. However, at that time, there emerged in society another tendency, that is, to exaggerate the mistakes of Comrade Mao Zedong and even to totally repudiate Comrade Mao Zedong. The vast numbers of party members and the masses were very worried about this and eagerly hoped that our party would sweep away all erroneous ideas and make a correct appraisal of the merits and demerits as well as the rights and wrongs of Comrade Mao Zedong. This question also attracted the attention of people abroad.

It was precisely in this situation, in which there was relative confusion in people's minds and the people expected something to be soon forthcoming, that Comrade Deng Xiaoping repeatedly stressed that we should confirm Comrade Mao Zedong's historical role and scientifically and fairly appraised the merits and demerits of Comrade Mao Zedong. He clearly pointed out: "Comrade Mao Zedong's merits are primary and his errors are secondary. This appraisal conforms to the actual situation. We must by no means doubt or negate this appraisal."

The basic principles of historical materialism tell us: In appraising the merits and demerits of historical personages, we must see what role their activities played in the development of history, a promoting role or an obstructive role. While making any appraisal in this way, we must observe and study all their activities throughout their lives, not their separate acts or activities in a short period of their lives, in an overall manner. Naturally, this must also be the case with such leaders as Comrade Mao Zedong.

Comrade Mao Zedong was a great Marxist and the chief founder of our party and of new China. He was the leader of our party until his death. In the course of our party's endeavors to integrate the Marxist-Leninist universal principles with the practice of the Chinese revolution, Comrade Mao Zedong

made the greatest achievements and was the outstanding representative of the Chinese communists who applied Marxism-Leninism in solving the question of the Chinese revolution. In applying Marxism-Leninism to the various fields of the Chinese revolution, including philosophy, politics, economics, military affairs, and literature and art, Comrade Mao Zedong had his own original ideas. Some basic principles advanced by him are quite correct. His theories on carrying out the proletarian revolution in a semicolonial and semifeudal society, on encircling the cities from the countryside, and on seizure of power by armed force have become the important wealth in the treasure house of Marxism. During the Yanan period, our party took Mao Zedong Thought as its guiding ideology. It was precisely under the guidance of Mao Zedong Thought that the Chinese revolution could rapidly win victory. The life of Comrade Mao Zedong was closely related to the history of our party and our state. Our party's successes in saving the situation and converting danger into safety at the several critical junctures in the history of the Chinese revolution were not unconnected with Comrade Mao Zedong's brilliant leadership. After the Opium War of 1840, China was gradually reduced to a semicolonial and semifeudal country. The advanced elements of the Chinese nation rose to save the country, one stepping into the breach as another fell, but failed because they could not discover the correct way to the revolution. But under the leadership of the CPC and Comrade Mao Zedong, the Chinese people at last discovered the correct way and succeeded in the revolution. After the founding of the PRC, the party and Comrade Mao Zedong successfully led the people throughout the nation in carrying out socialist revolution and construction and in setting up an independent and fairly comprehensive socialist industrial base and national economic system on the ragged stall left over from old China. These achievements in the revolution and in construction have provided a solid foundation for a prosperous and strong China and significantly raised China's international standing. So, total repudiation of Comrade Mao Zedong's contributions in history means in reality negating the brilliant history of our party.

In talking about the great contributions of Comrade Mao Zedong, Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "In recalling the situation after the failure of the revolution in 1927, we will find that without the brilliant leadership of Comrade Mao Zedong, the Chinese revolution might not have triumphed to the greatest extent up to now and, in that case, the Chinese people of all nationalities might still have been under the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratic capitalism and our party might have struggled hard in the dark. So we say that without Chairman Mao, there would have been no new China. This is not, in the slightest degree, exaggeration, as alleged. Mao Zedong Thought has nurtured the people of a whole generation. We can probably say that we comrades here are all taught and guided by Mao Zedong Thought. Without Mao Zedong Thought, today's CPC would not exist. This also is not, in the slightest degree, exaggeration, as alleged." This analysis of Comrade Deng Xiaoping thoroughly summarized the great contributions of Comrade Mao Zedong and was also a centralized embodiment of the high respect and deep feelings of the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation, of the broad numbers of cadres, and of the masses toward Comrade Mao Zedong.

Of course, fully affirming the great contributions of Comrade Mao Zedong does not mean glossing over his errors. The "Great Cultural Revolution," initiated and led by Comrade Mao Zedong in his later years, led to a full-scale civil war and to the practice of overthrowing everything. This was a grave error, comprehensive in magnitude. This error brought about misfortunes to the party and the people but after all it was an error of a great proletarian revolutionary. While making serious mistakes in his later years, Comrade Mao Zedong imagined that his theory and practice were Marxist and that they were essential for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Herein precisely lies his tragedy. Therefore his mistakes were fundamentally different in essence from the schemes and sabotage of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques. Furthermore, not all the activities in his later years were wrong. He led the struggle to smash the Lin Biao counterrevolutionary clique; made major criticisms and exposures of Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao, and others, frustrating their sinister ambition to seize supreme leadership; and advanced correct ideas on questions such as the struggle to oppose hegemonism on an international scale. So we must make a practical and realistic analysis of Comrade Mao Zedong's mistakes and neither cover them up nor exaggerate them.

As the old saying goes: "The defects cannot obscure the virtues and the merits do not outweigh the defects." We must appraise the merits and demerits of outstanding historical figures in accordance with their true features and in the spirit of realism. This is a historical materialist scientific approach. Deng Xiaoping has precisely done so. He pointed out: Although Comrade Mao Zedong made gross mistakes during the "Great Cultural Revolution," if we judge his activities as a whole, his contributions to the Chinese revolution far outweigh his mistakes. This correct appraisal has won the support of the whole party and the whole people and has also been well received by world opinion. Moreover, it was affirmed by the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" adopted by the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee.

2. /"History is created by the people but this does not, in the slightest degree, mean rejecting the esteem of the people for an outstanding individual; and, moreover, respecting him does not automatically mean having blind faith in him and deifying him."/ ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 159)

History is created by the people and leaders are human and not gods. All this is the ABC of historical materialism. However, after the long-standing indulgence of the personality cult and in a situation in which the grave consequences of deifying leaders had not been done away and in which the then principal leader of the CPC Central Committee continued to foster the personality cult around himself, Comrade Deng Xiaoping reaffirmed these basic views. This contains profound experience and lessons and is of great immediate significance in bringing order out of chaos.

Contrary to the historical idealist view that heroes are the creators of history, we Marxists firmly believe that history is created by the people. "The people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history." This is always an irrefutable truth. However, while recognizing that history is created by the masses of people, Marxism has never negated the role of outstanding individuals in history and has also never negated the role of leaders in political parties. As Lenin put it, the leaders of the party of the working class are people "who are the most authoritative, influential, and experienced." This authority, influence, and experience of theirs is the precious wealth of the party and the people and must be cherished and respected. Although leaders have the above-mentioned characteristics and play an outstanding role in the activities relating to the making of history, they are after all human and not gods. Outstanding individuals do not have any magic power which is out of the common run and they cannot possibly create history as they please by relying on their subjective will. Their outstanding role finds expression in the fact that they can understand the laws governing social development and know how to lead their own class and the broad masses in effecting social change and propelling history in accordance with the requirements of objective law. Their outstanding insight, ability, and experience are not innate, but come through their practice of studying scientific knowledge more assiduously than ordinary people do and through their being better at conducting investigation and study of the actual conditions in accordance with the scientific world outlook and methodology and at summing up the experience of mass struggles. Therefore, leaders of the party of the working class naturally come forward in revolutionary struggles rather than being born or self-styled leaders. They must put themselves among, rather than above, the masses and put themselves inside, rather than above, the party. They must be models in maintaining close links with the masses, implementing democratic centralism, and observing party discipline. Leaders' understanding of things is similarly limited by the times and by personal conditions (practice, knowledge, and so on). The practice of deifying leaders and the argument alleging that everything leaders say and do is 100 percent correct and denying that leaders are immune from shortcomings and mistakes run counter to the Marxist theory of knowledge and historical materialism.

Marx and Engels always detested and rejected the deification of, and blind faith in, individuals. Marx said: "We both consider prestige not worth a penny. Let me cite an instance to illustrate: Being disgusted with all forms of the personality cult which exists internationally, I have always opposed the publishing of the numerous eulogistic things coming from all countries in the world, which made me sick and what is more I have never even made any reply to them. If there is accidentally a reply, it must be a denunciation of them." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 34, pp 286-289) Our party has always opposed giving prominence to individuals and singing the praises of individuals. In the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh CPC Central Committee convened in March 1949, in accordance with the proposal made by Comrade Mao Zedong, the CPC Central Committee decided to forbid the celebration of the birthdays of party leaders and the naming of places, streets, and enterprises after party leaders. This

played a useful role in putting a stop to flattery and exaggerated praise. In September 1956, in his report on the revised party constitution of the Eighth CPC National Congress, Comrade Deng Xiaoping reaffirmed these decisions and further pointed out: "Cherishing leaders is manifested in essence in treasuring the interests of the party, the class, and the people. It definitely does not mean deification of individuals." "Our party has always held that in its or his own activities, any party or individual is not immune from shortcomings and mistakes. This has now been enshrined in the general program of our draft party constitution. Because of this, our party has also detested and rejected deification of individuals." ("Documents of the Eighth CPC National Congress," p 140)

The Marxist principles concerning the interrelations of leaders, political parties, classes, and the masses and the fine tradition of the party of the working class of opposing deifying and making a fetish of individuals were seriously sabotaged by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" during the "Great Cultural Revolution." Harboring ulterior motives, they deified Comrade Mao Zedong and developed the personality cult to an absolutely ridiculous point. This brought extremely grave consequences to our party's cause. First, it sabotaged the party's longstanding tradition that major questions are collectively decided by the party leadership and democratic centralism and led to a situation in which all major questions were arbitrarily decided by an individual. Second, it put up a high wall between leaders and the people and cut the close ties between leaders and the masses so that leaders were freed from the supervision of the collective and the masses, became divorced from reality and degenerated into subjectivism. As a consequence, they made some erroneous decisions. Third, it helped give careerists and conspirators like Lin Biao and the "gang of four" the opportunity to carry out counterrevolutionary activities of all descriptions under the pretense of supporting Comrade Mao Zedong. Fourth, it seriously fettered people's minds, ossified their thinking, and hindered the mobilization of the initiative and creativity of the broad numbers of party members and the masses of people.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping's reaffirmation of the argument that leaders are human and not gods is aimed precisely at eliminating the grave consequences of the personality cult and at educating the whole party and the whole people to approach leaders correctly in accordance with the basic historical materialist principles and conscientiously to draw historical lessons from political life in all fields of the party and the state so as to avoid making the same mistakes in the future.

3. /"In analyzing his shortcomings and mistakes, we must admit his personal responsibility for the errors he committed, but more importantly, we must make an analysis of the historical and complex background."/ ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 158)

After the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, in the course of wiping out the "leftist" mistakes, some comrades regarded past mistakes as committed by Comrade Mao Zedong alone. It seemed that other people were all correct and that Comrade Mao Zedong alone committed

mistakes. While analyzing Comrade Mao Zedong's errors, they laid the blame for all those errors on his personal character. This view cannot help in making a correct analysis of Comrade Mao Zedong's mistakes and in attaining the objective of summing up experience and lessons in a fairly satisfactory way.

According to the historical materialist point of view, outstanding historical personages are the products of a certain social era. True, their immense contributions and achievements are not unconnected with their personal subjective factors, but in the final analysis, it is the era and circumstances that give them a chance to succeed. Because they can conform to the historical trend of the times, sum up practical experience, and concentrate collective wisdom, so they can play a great promoting role in the advance of history. Similarly, although there are subjective reasons for their shortcomings and mistakes, they are not accidental and isolated phenomena in the absence of given social and historical conditions. In a word, no correct explanation can be made of the tremendous successes and grave errors of outstanding figures in the absence of definite social and historical conditions. This is where the difference between historical materialism and historical idealism lies.

Lenin pointed out: "The categorical requirement of Marxist theory in investigating any social question is that it be examined within definite historical limits." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 512) In analyzing Comrade Mao Zedong's shortcomings and mistakes, it is also necessary to apply this historical materialist viewpoint and method.

To be sure, there are some subjective factors of his own in Comrade Mao Zedong's mistakes and he must be held responsible personally for the mistakes he committed, chiefly in his later years, in which, with the tremendous victories won in the party's cause and the high prestige he enjoyed in the whole party and among the people of all nationalities, he began to get arrogant, become overconfident and more and more divorced from reality and the masses and, in particular, from the party's collective leadership, and often rejected and even suppressed correct opinions that differed from his. The result was a steady weakening and even undermining of the principle of collective leadership and democratic centralism in the political life of the party and the country. Thus, he inevitably made mistakes, including the comprehensive, long-drawn-out, and gross blunder of initiating the "Great Cultural Revolution"; this was a tremendous misfortune for the party and the people. There is no question that the chief responsibility for this blunder does indeed lie with Comrade Mao Zedong.

However, it is far from adequate to lay stress exclusively on this point and we must make a further analysis of the complex social and historical causes. First, generally speaking, our party was not fully prepared, either ideologically or in terms of thorough scientific study, for the newborn socialist society and for socialist construction on a national scale. Internationally speaking, the history of the socialist movement is not long and that of the socialist countries even shorter. Seen from China's national condition, ours was a country with a huge population and

backward economy. In building socialism in a country like this, there was still less experience at hand for us to follow. Therefore, we had to explore step by step the road to building socialism in practice. We were not exempted from making mistakes or from faults since we made explorations. For example, one of Comrade Mao Zedong's relatively big errors was the broadening of the scope of class struggle. This error had its own profound social and historical causes rather than being an error committed by Comrade Mao Zedong alone. Historically, our party was for long years in a state of war and of acute class struggle and used to carry out large-scale, turbulent mass struggles. This historical characteristic made our party liable to continue to use the familiar methods and experiences of the past and liable to regard issues unrelated to class struggle as its manifestations when observing and handling new contradictions and problems which cropped up in the course of the development of socialist society. It was precisely against this historical background that after the 1957 antirightist struggle, Comrade Mao Zedong readvanced the argument that the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie remains the principal contradiction in Chinese society and later he raised the call of "taking class struggle as the key link," regarding that "when class struggle is grasped, various problems are solved." This inevitably led to broadening the scope of class struggle and eventually led to such a gross blunder as the "Great Cultural Revolution." Second, feudalism in China had a very long history. The evil ideological and political influence of feudal autocracy has not been completely wiped out. For this and various other historical reasons, we failed to institutionalize and legalize inner-party democracy and democracy in the political life of the country, or we drew up relevant laws but they lacked due authority. This meant that conditions were present for the overconcentration of party power in individuals and for the development of arbitrary individual rule and the personality cult in the party. As Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "Laying stress exclusively on Comrade Mao Zedong's mistakes will solve no problems. Most importantly, this is a question concerning the system. Comrade Mao Zedong has made many statements but some undesirable systems of the past have pushed him to do the opposite."

In analyzing Comrade Mao Zedong's errors, we must also see that the mistakes of the past did not exclusively involve the mistakes committed by Comrade Mao Zedong alone. The proletariat does not have only one or two leaders but requires a leading collective. The role of individuals in this collective must not be stressed in terms of absolutes. Blaming all errors on one person also does not conform to reality, just as all the credit cannot be attributed to one person. In his "Opinions on Drafting 'Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC,'" Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "So when we talk about mistakes, we should not put all the blame on Comrade Mao Zedong, for many other leading comrades in the Central Committee also made mistakes." In his speech at the meeting in celebration of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the CPC, Comrade Hu Yaobang also pointed out: "It must be admitted that both before the 'Great Cultural Revolution' and at the time of its inception, the party failed to prevent Comrade Mao Zedong's erroneous tendency from growing more serious but, instead, accepted and approved of

some of his wrong theses. We veterans who had been working together with him for a long time as his comrades-in-arms, or who had long been following him in revolutionary struggle as his disciples, are keenly aware of our own responsibility in this matter, and we are determined never to forget this lesson." This appraisal is a manifestation of being brave in shouldering responsibilities on the one hand and completely tallies with historical facts and with the basic historical materialist viewpoint on the other.

As far as leaders' errors are concerned, stress should not be laid exclusively on personal responsibility or on the analysis of the social and historical background. On this question, there are important experiences and lessons in the history of our party and of the international communist movement. During the democratic revolutionary period, Comrades Qu Qiubai, Li Lishan, and others committed "leftist" mistakes. At that time, we failed to prevent the reoccurrence of such mistakes because we put stress merely on investigating and affixing personal responsibility for their mistakes and failed to stress making a scientific analysis out of objective historical conditions and correctly summing up experiences and lessons. During the Yanan rectification movement, Comrade Mao Zedong therefore specially summed up this negative experience. He said: "We should lay stress not on the responsibility of certain individual comrades but on the analysis of the circumstances in which the errors were committed, on the contents of the errors, and on their social, historical, and ideological roots, and this should be done in the spirit of 'learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones,' and 'curing the sickness to save the patient,' in order to achieve the twofold objective of clarity in ideology and unity among comrades." Comrade Deng Xiaoping has upheld the historical materialist scientific approach precisely by drawing on the positive and negative experiences in the history of our party. He pointed out: In making an analysis of the mistakes Comrade Mao Zedong committed in his later years, we must not only appropriately state his personal responsibility but also emphatically analyze the complex historical background of his errors and strive to make an appropriate appraisal of his errors in the spirit of seeking truth from facts.

4. /"We must have a comprehensive and accurate understanding of Mao Zedong Thought and be good at studying, grasping, and applying Mao Zedong Thought as a system to direct our work in all fields."/ ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 39)

The argument regarding Mao Zedong Thought as an ideological system is Comrade Deng Xiaoping's consistent view. In the early 1960's, together with Comrade Luo Ronghuan, Comrade Deng Xiaoping waged a struggle against Lin Biao and criticized the latter for his vulgarizing Mao Zedong Thought. Unfortunately, during the "Great Cultural Revolution," the correct argument that regards Mao Zedong Thought as an ideological system was repudiated and the absurdities of Lin Biao reached their climax. Lin Biao separated the comprehensive system of Mao Zedong Thought into fragmentary "quotations," alleged that what Comrade Mao Zedong said in a certain situation to counter a definite circumstance meant that "every sentence spoken or written by Chairman Mao is a truth," and urged people to apply all the

quotations indiscriminately and mechanically regardless of time, place, and condition. Hence, modern superstition was in vogue, pragmatism was rampant, Mao Zedong Thought was seriously distorted, and some erroneous statements and even statements which seriously endangered the cause of the party and of socialism had attached to them the label of Mao Zedong Thought. All this brought about great confusion. Although by 1977 the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques had fallen from power one after another, the then principal leader of the CPC Central Committee erroneously advanced the theory of the "two whatevers," that is, that we firmly uphold whatever policy decisions Chairman Mao made, and we unswervingly adhere to whatever instructions Chairman Mao gave. This is a theory which regards Mao Zedong Thought as dogma in a new form, advocates blind faith and blind obedience, and continues knowingly to stick to, instead of correcting, Comrade Mao Zedong's mistakes. In this way mistakes were repeated endlessly. The "two whatevers" seems, taken literally, to safeguard and uphold Mao Zedong Thought, but in fact it discards the core and living soul of Mao Zedong Thought. If we act according to the "two whatevers," we are bound to stick to the errors committed by Comrade Mao Zedong in his later years, leaving them intact, and we will thus have no way of talking about bringing order out of chaos. This goes against the common aspirations of the party, the army, and the people and runs counter to the tide of history. It was precisely at this important historical juncture that, in accordance with the Marxist theory of knowledge and the basic historical materialist viewpoint, Comrade Deng Xiaoping reaffirmed through repeated deliberations: "Mao Zedong Thought is an ideological system. By holding high the banner, we mean studying and applying this ideological system." He time and again pointed out: "We must use the comprehensive and accurate Mao Zedong Thought as a guide." This correct view of his has played a guiding role in eliminating the pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," who dogmatized and vulgarized Mao Zedong Thought, in criticizing the "two whatevers," and in unifying the whole party's and whole people's understanding of Mao Zedong Thought.

How should we understand that Mao Zedong Thought is an ideological system?

Mao Zedong Thought does not consist of the thinking of Comrade Mao Zedong alone and is a scientific system of guidelines befitting China's conditions, a system which consists of a theoretical synthesis of China's unique experience in its protracted revolution, a synthesis made by the Chinese communists, with Comrade Mao Zedong as their chief representative, in accordance with the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism. It is the product of the integration of the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete facts of the Chinese revolution and is Marxism-Leninism applied and developed in China. It is a system composed of a series of basic viewpoints. At each different stage, Comrade Mao Zedong took a unique social contradiction as the object of his research and brought to light the unique laws governing it, and by making use of the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint, and method, advanced a series of theories, lines, principles, and policies for China's revolution and construction, including the theories on the new democratic revolution, on the socialist revolution and socialist construction, on the building of a revolutionary

army, on military strategy, on strategy and tactics, on ideological and political work, on cultural work, and on the building of the party. All these revolutionary theories, which have been tested in the protracted revolutionary practice, are systematic, comprehensive, and consistent rather than being fragmentary, lopsided, and contradictory. The rich contents and interrelations of these theories constitute a comprehensive scientific system.

Since Mao Zedong Thought is an ideological system, only when we grasp and apply Mao Zedong Thought as a whole and accurately can we avoid cutting apart and distorting Mao Zedong Thought. Lenin pointed out: "The whole spirit of Marxism, its whole system, demands that each proposition should be considered a) only historically, b) only in connection with others, c) only in connection with the concrete experience of history." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 35, p 238) Comprehensively and accurately studying and applying Mao Zedong Thought as Comrade Deng Xiaoping put it is identical with this view of Lenin. In other words, we must grasp Mao Zedong Thought in terms of the whole system, understand its very essence, and grasp its stand, viewpoint, and method. We must understand Comrade Mao Zedong's specific propositions in the light of the then historical conditions. As Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "Comrade Mao Zedong's statement on a certain question at a certain time and under certain conditions is correct and his statement on the same question at another time and under other conditions is also correct. However, his statement on the same question at a different time and under different conditions is different in its sense of appropriateness and in stress, and some of his statements are even different in wording." To study and apply Mao Zedong Thought in a comprehensive and accurate way, we must be good at adopting a correct attitude toward it in accordance with different cases rather than understanding it from specific phrases and sentences, and we must not apply the "two whatevers" everywhere.

One situation is that some of Comrade Mao Zedong's theses were correct under the then historical conditions but were no longer applicable with the changed conditions. For instance, at the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh CPC Central Committee held in 1949, Comrade Mao Zedong correctly pointed out: After the nationwide victory of the Chinese revolution and the settlement of the land question, the domestic principal contradiction is the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie. After the basic completion of the socialist transformation in 1956, this contradiction was already basically solved. It was wrong to continue to use the 1949 formulation. Marx, Engels, and Lenin repeatedly said that their theories are not a dogma but a guide to action and required us to pay particular attention to the historical conditions from which their conclusions on certain questions were derived, and not to regard the correct conclusions under definite historical conditions as absolute principles which could be applied everywhere. Naturally, we must adopt such a scientific attitude toward what Comrade Mao Zedong said and did.

The other situation is that some of Comrade Mao Zedong's theses were wrong at their very inception. We must no longer apply them. For example, the

theory on continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat which Comrade Mao Zedong put forth in his later years, and many of the statements he made in the course of initiating and leading the "Great Cultural Revolution" were in this category. These erroneous theories and views had in reality departed from the correct path of Mao Zedong Thought and therefore could not be taken into the scientific system of Mao Zedong Thought.

Mao Zedong Thought is a valuable spiritual asset of our party. It will be our guide to action for a long time to come. How to adopt a correct attitude toward Mao Zedong Thought is an important matter vital to the fundamental interests of the party and the country. Comrade Deng Xiaoping's important view on acquiring a comprehensive and accurate understanding of Mao Zedong Thought has grasped what is of basic importance, provided the theoretical preparation for the subsequent bringing of order out of chaos and the reestablishment of the party's correct ideological, political, and organizational lines, and also laid an ideological foundation for the subsequent "resolution" which was adopted by the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee concerning the correct appraisal of Comrade Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought.

5. /"A distinction should be made between Mao Zedong Thought and the mistakes he made in his later years. This will avoid many confused ideas."/ ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 325)

Following the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, and with the bringing of order out of chaos in our guiding ideology, it was imperative to sort out the mistakes Comrade Mao Zedong committed in his later years. At that time, there was ideological confusion among a section of people. Some people said: Now that there are mistakes in the theories and views he advanced and the statements he made in his later years, can Mao Zedong Thought still be regarded as our guiding ideology? How can we take the thinking containing errors as our guide? Others said: We only support the "correct Mao Zedong Thought" and not the "erroneous Mao Zedong Thought." It was precisely to counter this situation that Comrade Deng Xiaoping clearly pointed out that a distinction should be made between Mao Zedong Thought and the mistakes he made in his later years.

Why should a distinction be made between the two? Because Mao Zedong Thought is an ideological system composed of a series of basic principles rather than being the aggregation of all Comrade Mao Zedong's statements. This ideological system is the product of the combination of the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. It is, instead of being the creation of Comrade Mao Zedong alone, the crystallization of the collective wisdom of the CPC. It is formed on the basis of summing up the experience in the struggles of the Chinese people and is a scientific truth which has been for long years tested by history and repeatedly proved by practice. Its wide-ranging contents and in particular, the stand, viewpoint, and method which run through these contents are the valuable spiritual asset of our party, which play, and will play, an important role guiding us in our endeavors at

present and in the future. The mistakes Comrade Mao Zedong made in his later years--for example, his theory on continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and the practice of the "Great Cultural Revolution" which he led--do not accord with Marxism-Leninism nor with China's actual conditions. They have directly gone against the basic principles and principles in Mao Zedong Thought concerning the Chinese revolution and construction, and sabotaged the party's fine traditions which have taken shape in the past several decades, thus obviously deviating from the correct path of Mao Zedong Thought. Comrade Mao Zedong said himself that some of his statements were wrong. In accordance with his consistent stand, we must uphold the truth and correct our mistakes. Since there are mistakes in what he said, they must be corrected, revised, or discarded. We must not confuse truth with mistakes. As Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "What we uphold and want to take as the guide to action is the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought or in other words, the scientific system composed of these basic principles. As far as specific inferences are concerned, people, whether Marx, Lenin or Comrade Mao Zedong, unavoidably could make mistakes of one kind and another. However, all these mistakes do not belong to the scientific system composed of the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought." If problems are approached in accordance with this view, it will be a matter of course to differentiate Mao Zedong Thought from the errors Comrade Mao Zedong made in his later years.

In the past, some comrades found it hard to understand why a distinction should be made between the two. This was chiefly because they took Mao Zedong Thought as the aggregation of all Comrade Mao Zedong's statements and indiscriminately regarded what Comrade Mao Zedong said, whether it was correct or wrong or whether it had been tested in practice or not, as Mao Zedong Thought. Moreover, the root cause for this misunderstanding was chiefly the influence of the fallacy that "every sentence spoken or written by Chairman Mao is a truth" which Lin Biao and the "gang of four" trumpeted, and, at the same time, it was not unconnected with the subsequent influence of the "two whatevers." Facts have proved that approaching Mao Zedong Thought in accordance with the arguments of "every sentence spoken or written by Chairman Mao is a truth" and of the "two whatevers" can only bring about extremely great ideological confusion: Whether we have blind faith in everything, accepting and upholding erroneous things as correct ones or whether, when coming to know that there are mistakes in some specific references, we will go to another extreme, doubting Mao Zedong Thought in its entirety and even negating Mao Zedong Thought as our guiding ideology under the alleged pretext of "not supporting the erroneous Mao Zedong Thought."

Comrade Deng Xiaoping's view on making a distinction between Mao Zedong Thought and the mistakes Comrade Mao Zedong committed in his later years, is a judgment made in the light of objective facts and in the spirit of realism. It is conducive to correcting mistakes on the one hand and to safeguarding the scientific truth of Mao Zedong Thought on the other. For this reason, it has played a powerful guiding role in unifying the people's understanding and clarifying the ideological confusion among the people.

6. /"Mao Zedong Thought which has been proved correct by practice is still our guiding ideology and must be upheld and developed in the light of specific conditions and propagated boldly and forcefully."/ ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 325)

Whether the party's guiding ideology is correct or not is a question of vital importance. During the late 1920's and the early 1930's, the party's erroneous guiding ideology almost brought the Chinese revolution to an impasse. Later, because the leading role of Comrade Mao Zedong was recognized and Mao Zedong Thought, the product of the integration of the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, was taken as a guide, so the revolution took a turn for the better and was out of danger, and great victories were won by the people throughout the country under the leadership of the CPC in the war of resistance against Japan and the war of liberation. The reason why Mao Zedong Thought becomes the glorious banner and sharp weapon of the Chinese people lies in the fact that it has been repeatedly confirmed in the long years of practice. Mao Zedong Thought is wide-ranging in content. It includes not only the theory on the new democratic revolution but also the important theses which have played, and will play, a far-reaching, guiding role in our socialist cause. They include theories on the people's democratic dictatorship and on strictly differentiating and correctly handling the two types of social contradictions differing in nature, and they also include theses on the socialist economic construction, on the building of a revolutionary army, on military strategy, on the united front, on the building of the party, on ideological and political work, on cultural work, and so on. Particularly, we must follow, for a long time to come, the stand, viewpoint, and method embodied in the above-mentioned component parts of Mao Zedong Thought, which boil down to three basic points: To seek truth from facts, the mass line, and independence. It is entirely wrong to try to deny the scientific value of Mao Zedong Thought and deny its guiding role in our revolution and construction just because Comrade Mao Zedong made mistakes in his later years. As a scientific theoretical system, Mao Zedong Thought does not include the errors Comrade Mao Zedong committed in his later years. Not only have these mistakes not proved that Mao Zedong Thought is wrong and does not work any longer, but, on the contrary, they have proved that anyone, including Comrade Mao Zedong himself, who deviates from the path of the combination of Marxism-Leninism with the realities in China, and from Mao Zedong Thought, the product of this combination, will unavoidably make mistakes. In criticizing Lin Biao and his like who distorted Mao Zedong Thought, in opposing the "two what-ers," and correcting the mistakes committed by Comrade Mao Zedong in his later years, we have not, in the slightest degree, attempted to negate Mao Zedong Thought itself and what we have negated is precisely the sorts of things which run counter to Mao Zedong Thought. It is an unprecedentedly great and arduous undertaking to realize the four modernizations and to build a socialist country with a high level of culture and democracy in a big, economically and culturally backward country with a huge population and vast territory as well as complex conditions. Without a scientific theory as a guide, it will be impossible to accomplish this undertaking. The practice of 50 years or so has shown that except for

Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, there is no other thinking that can guide the realization of the unification of the country and of the unity of the people and guide us in building socialism. To negate the guiding role of Mao Zedong Thought and seek another thinking as a guide is as unwise as someone who "begs for food with a gold bowl."

We must uphold and develop Mao Zedong Thought in the light of actual conditions. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Marxism-Leninism has in no way exhausted truth but ceaselessly opens up roads to knowledge of truth in the course of practice." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 1, p 272) This is naturally also the case with Mao Zedong Thought. It has not and can not possibly provide us with ready solutions to the new problems which have constantly cropped up and will crop up in our practice. The argument claiming that we must indiscriminately apply what Comrade Mao Zedong said and not try to alter his sayings even if conditions have changed, and to correct his wrong sayings and doings, and must not do what he had not yet done discards the living soul of Mao Zedong Thought rather than upholding it. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our party has worked for applying the stand, viewpoint, and method of Mao Zedong Thought in studying the new developments and new problems cropping up in the course of practice and in finding a path for building socialism with features peculiar to China, thus upholding the basic spirit of Mao Zedong Thought and enriching and developing Mao Zedong Thought on the basis of summing up new experience. This upholding and developing of Mao Zedong Thought boils down to the following aspects:

- 1) Reaffirming and further elucidating some correct ideas which were negated by the "Great Cultural Revolution" and by the "leftist" mistakes prior to it, including the ideas that the principal contradiction within the Chinese society following the basic completion of the socialist transformation was the contradiction between the demand of the people for rapid economic and cultural development and the existing state of our economy and culture which fell short of the needs of the people, and that the focus of the work of the party and the state should be shifted to the socialist modernization program.

- 2) Substantiating and enriching the existing correct ideas with new practical experience so as to make them more complete and more objective, including the ideas that the relationship between heavy industry on the one hand, and agriculture and light industry on the other, should be correctly handled, that the relationships between the central and local authorities and between the state and the enterprise should be correctly handled, and that socialism should be built independently and self-reliantly and by means of expanding economic and technical exchanges with other countries as well.

- 3) Replacing the outdated conclusions with some new conclusions suited to the present realities in the light of the changed historical conditions. They include the ideas that class struggle no longer constitutes the principal contradiction after the exploiters have been eliminated as a class, although it will continue to exist within certain limits for a long time to come, and that intellectuals are part of the working class.

4) Making new theoretical syntheses in the light of the practice of the socialist modernization program through the summing-up of the practical experience, for example, in the fields of building socialist spiritual civilization and of building socialism with distinctive Chinese characteristics.

The several aspects mentioned above can be summarized into one thing, that is, we must take up what Comrade Mao Zedong had advanced but not yet done, correct what he wrongly opposed, do well the work he failed to do well, and meanwhile, in the light of the new historical conditions, we must put forth new tasks, sum up new practical experience, and make new theoretical syntheses. It is precisely because our party upheld and developed Mao Zedong Thought in these several respects that such a fine situation as prevails today, can prevail. Some people have up to now insisted on arguing that we have discarded Mao Zedong Thought. This just indicates their ignorance.

For some time there emerged in society an erroneous ideological trend--it seemed that Mao Zedong Thought was outdated and no longer worked. Influenced by this ideological trend, some comrades thought that we lacked sense and the power of justice in propagating Mao Zedong Thought. To counter this situation, Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: We must boldly and forcefully propagate Mao Zedong Thought. Mao Zedong Thought is a scientific theory which has been verified in practice. Under its guidance, our party has led the Chinese people in winning a great victory in the revolution and making tremendous achievements in construction. This is an objective fact obvious to all. By propagating Mao Zedong Thought, we mean propagating the positive experience obtained in the course of integrating the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of China's revolution over 50 years or so and the crystallization of the collective wisdom of the whole party, arming people's minds with the Sinicized Marxism, and raising people's ideological consciousness and theoretical level. Through our endeavors to bring order out of chaos, to eliminate the pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," and to restore the true features of Mao Zedong Thought, Mao Zedong Thought will continue to display its tremendous might.

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DO NOT READILY HAND OUT YOUR KEY

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 13, 1 Jul 83 inside back cover

[Article by He Beiren [0149 0554 0088]]

[Text] The "charcoal fire spirit" of Comrade Zhu Bairu [2612 0130 0320], a "living Lei Feng," is really fervent and moving. Some people particularly admire and appreciate his perfect sincerity, which is reflected in his painstaking effort to transform a delinquent youngster. They say: "How marvelous! Look at that Zhu Bairu! He handed the keys to his home to someone who had stolen his money, and he has reformed that person. How great is his spirit!" Some people have published articles about his deeds in newspapers and magazines, saying: "Absolute sincerity could make even gold and stone respond." Zhu Bairu's "charcoal fire spirit" is really great. In our society, the spirit of simplicity of heart, sincere fervor, aspiration to goodness and progress, and readiness to make sacrifices, have often deeply moved people. This fact reflects the superiority of our society, and in it also lies the hope of further improvement of our society. How fervently people hope to have more characteristics of Zhu Bairu!

However, a careful study of Comrade Zhu Bairu's deeds reveals that he did not hand over his keys lightly. Actually, before handing them out, he stipulated some necessary conditions. Therefore, I think that to really emulate Zhu Bairu's spirit in this respect, we must know the following points. First, we must acquire his alertness. When someone picks your pocket, you must discover it immediately. If your money has been stolen and you regretfully discover it afterward, when you want to use the money, you will not be in the mood to reform the pickpocket; and even if you manage to keep calm and think you should reform the culprit, who is there for you to reform? Second, we must acquire his ability to catch the pickpocket. This is also not easy, because experienced pickpockets can escape, like a big rat teasing a cat. If so, what is the use of having the good intention to reform the pickpocket?

Third, having done these two things, we can consider reforming the culprit. Even if we want to reform him, we must not immediately hand out our keys. To reform a person, we must naturally have fervor, resolution, and confidence, as Comrade Zhu Bairu does. Therefore, like him, we must not beat up

the pickpocket as soon as we catch him; we must first think about how to make him change. However, even if we harbor such spiritual greatness, we must be able to use, like Comrade Zhu Bairu, appropriate methods to reform other people. I greatly admire his ability in this respect. He was good at conducting heart-to-heart talks with the person to be reformed; he would open the door to his heart and explore what was deep inside; and he could correctly judge him to be a first offender who was penitent and eager to seek help. Only then did Zhu Bairu hand him the keys, which signified his absolute sincerity. To suit the method to the individual subject is a guarantee of success in reforming a person. Zhu Geliang in Chinese history caught Meng Huo seven times and released him seven times. With his exceptional wisdom and intelligence, Zhu Geliang would not have done this if Meng Huo was someone else. If he had caught Sima Yi, he probably would not release him, even once. He wanted to kill Sima Yi by shooting him, but Zhang Ge was killed instead. Did he not sigh before dying: "I wanted to kill a horse, but have mistakenly killed a deer"? Therefore, I think that if we are sure of success, we may hand over the keys; otherwise, not only is it unnecessary to hand over the keys it is safer to hand over the culprit to the police. It is because, in society there really are some people who are calculating how to break into your house if you do not give them your keys. If you carelessly give them your keys, are you not "providing a tool to help them"?

This argument is not to teach people to forsake the virtue of "kindness, generosity, being true to one's principle, and benevolent in their application toward others," or to be determined to be suspicious. Actually, at present, the general mood of society has not yet basically improved. Some hostile elements are diehards, some are not; some pickpockets are old hands, others are not. How can we treat everyone the same way? If we do, we will be easily deceived often, and we will often suffer from being wronged. In fact, not handing over our keys does not imply a lack of sincerity in reforming other people. Sincerity always brings about success. There are many other safe and reliable methods. You can see that although we have always adhered to the guiding principle of relying mainly on education to transform and reform people so that they can lead a new life, we have not thus turned law courts into probation centers, or recast handcuffs into keys. On the contrary, we are going to strengthen and perfect our legal system. Therefore, at present, when the general mood of society has not yet been basically improved, we must remind people to pay attention to guarding their homes against thieves, while we advocate vigorously working to reform other people.

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